SCHOOL OF CIVIL ENGINEERING

JOINT HIGHWAY RESEARCH PROJECT

GOVERMENTAL REORGANIZATION AND METROPOLITICS: DETERMINANTS CENTRAL TO A NORMATIVE THEORY OF METROPOLITAN PLANNING

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INDIANA STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION

Final Report

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION AND METROPOLITICS:

DETERMINANTS CENTRAL TO A NORMATIVE THEORY OF METROPOLITAN

PLANNING

TO: J. F. McLaughlin, Director   October 1, 1975
        Joint Highway Research Project

                                            Project: C-36-70E
FROM: H. L. Michael, Associate Director
        Joint Highway Research Project   File: 3-8-5

    The attached Final Report by Woodrow L. Moore, Jr., and titled
"Governmental Reorganization and Metropolitics: Determinants Central
to a Normative Theory of Metropolitan Planning" resulted from research
performed by Mr. Moore for his Ph.D. degree. During the conduct of
this research Mr. Moore served as a Graduate Instructor in the School
of Civil Engineering at Purdue University. Professor H. L. Michael
provided guidance for the research and preparation of the report.

    The Report is presented to the Advisory Board of the JHRP as
information on it is in an area of increasing interest and concern to all
governmental units, including state highway departments. Planning of
metropolitan areas has long been recognized as a desirable scope for
planning to have but experience has been minimal and success questioned.
The attached Report reviews these problems and postulates a theory
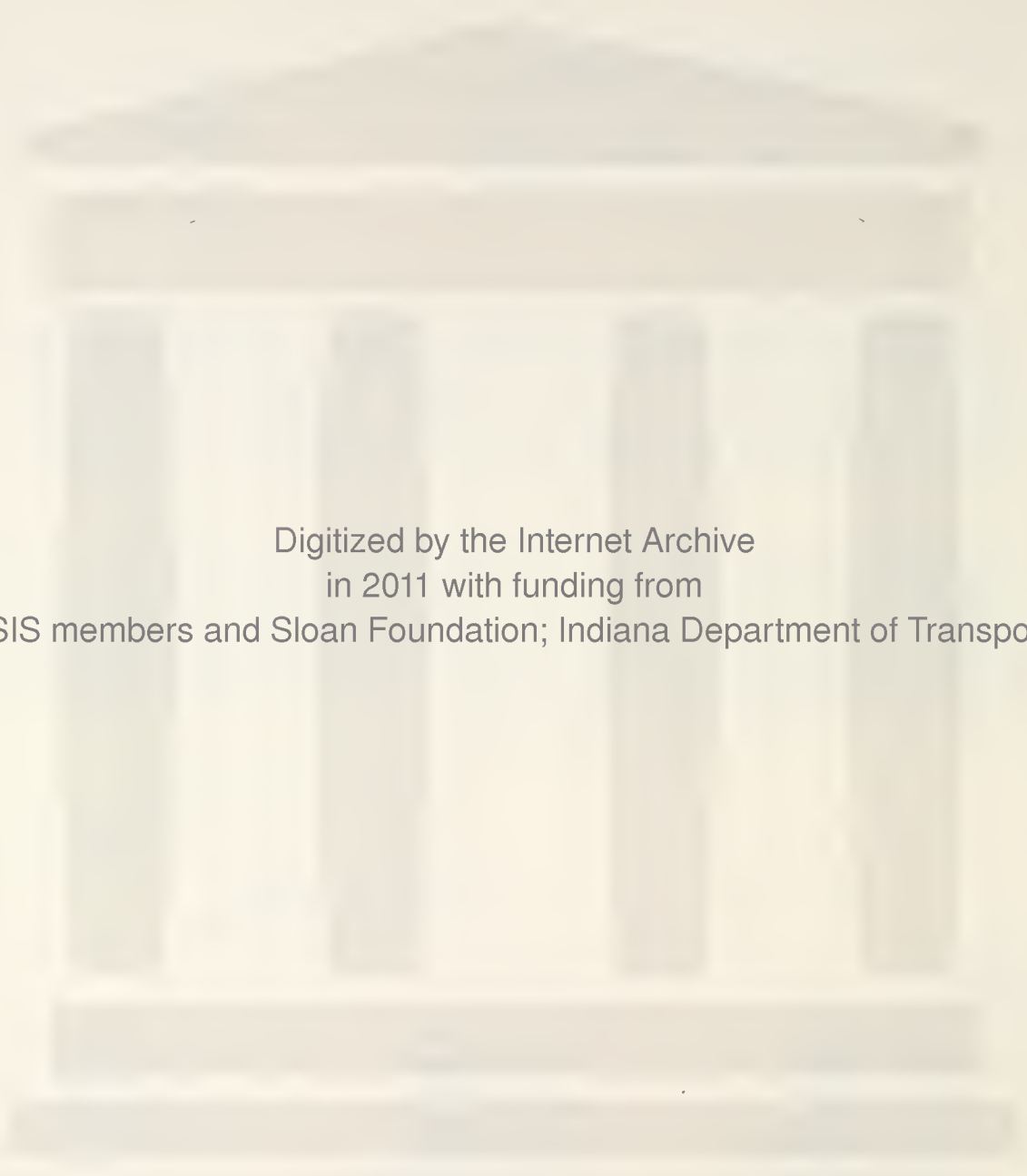of and the determinants for such planning.

                              Respectfully submitted,

                              Harold L. Michael

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Final Report

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DETERMINANTS CENTRAL TO A NORMATIVE THEORY OF METROPOLITAN
PLANNING

by

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File: 3-8-5

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As we are all products of our heritage and environment, the author finally acknowledges the unrepayable debt to his parents and family for their encouragement, support, and sacrifice during these past difficult years. To them I dedicate this work.

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ABSTRACT

Moore, Woodrow Lindsay, Jr. Ph.D., Purdue University,
August 1975. Governmental Reorganization and Metropolitics:
Determinants Central to a Normative Theory of Metropolitan
Planning. Major Professor: Harold L. Michael.

The precept central to this research is that the
current methodologies of urban planning are inappropriate
for the proper management and planning of urban change in
metropolitan areas even when practiced in an environment
composed of reorganized local governmental structures and
revamped systems of functional assignment procedures.
Specifically, the primary objective was to examine the
relationships among metropolitan planning, government
reorganization strategies, urban political systems of
decision making, and the forces of metropolitanization, in
an attempt to uncover better evidence as regards the growing
lack of success with metropolitan planning in managing land
development and in providing adequate services to the public.

Careful analysis has revealed that the forces of urban
centralization and decentralization have created pressures
for areawide planning. However, metropolitan planning was
found to be largely ineffective for three reasons: (1)
planning methodologies and the planning process are frag-
mented and too narrow in scope to deal with the relatedness
of various social, economic, and political factors of
metropolitan decision making; (2) metropolitan planning lacks
an appropriate areawide governmental basis to effectuate
sound planning and management of urban change; and (3) the
separation of planning from the politics of metropolitan
decision making has relegated the role of planning to the
public officials rather than with the planning agencies who

are responsible for the proper conduct of that function.

To correct for the long-term implications of this evidence, this research proposes the immediate creation of Metropolitan Planning and Development Authorities by State legislatures with Federal backing and fiscal incentives. Recommendations as to the specifics of this proposal are fully substantiated by the conclusions of the analysis contained herein. The conceptual and operational basis of these MPDAs would be a normative framework for metropolitan planning. Such a framework is fully described in this study. When viewed from the realistic standpoint as concerns the need for a broad-based strategy that can accommodate the proper planning and management of our metropolises, these proposals and recommendations are deemed as necessary and warranted.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Metropolitan areas of the United States are probably the most affluent and powerful centers of human settlement ever developed by modern man. They contain vast amounts of natural resources which have been utilized to create centers of commerce and industry, fashion and culture, and recreation and thought. Indeed, many metropolitan areas are more prosperous than most developing nations.

Despite these acquired characteristics of wealth, prominence, and power, metropolitan areas are not lacking in complexities that disturb their residents' daily lives and pose a threat to the area's status as a powerful economic and political force that must be dealt with in National decision-making as regards public policy. Problems of crime, pollution, racism, fiscal inequities, unemployment, sub-standard housing, inadequate transportation systems, worsening poverty, economic imbalances, and other diverse and elusive problems are not unique with the advent of metropolitan areas. However, the magnitude and interdependence of these problems has rarely, if ever, been encountered since the earliest reportings of city formations. Further, despite the wealth of research material in existence that deals with the purported "Urban Crisis", there prevails few if any relevant substantive programs that combat directly the causes of these metropolitan "ills", nor are any new programs being voiced from the chambers of government that promise reversals of these post-World War II trends. Moreover, these problems have begun to take on new dimensions which when analyzed appear to indicate that their typology

has changed from compound to complex in substance and from calculable to incalculable in extent. Thus, either improper actions or inaction on the part of government officials for over forty years of unchecked socio-economic proliferation may have rendered the metropolis a blow from which it will never fully recover.

The functions of the metropolis and its physical, socio-economic, and political attributes profoundly influence the role of government. For the metropolis to thrive, large numbers of people must be housed and supplied with necessary amenities, goods and persons must be moved, and land and utilities must be available for new industry and commerce. Growth and its accompanying changes prompt increasing demands upon government to shape the urban environment and to pro-vide the public services required by its families and businesses. As the environment and the human needs within it change, the organizational and administrative requisites for fulfilling these demands also change. The focus of this research is upon these shifting requisites. What modifica-tions of government and planning processes are taking place in response to urban change? How do urban communities organize themselves to plan, decide upon, finance, and carry out developmental functions? By urban government is meant not simply local government, but an array of municipal, regional, State, and Federal agencies interacting to shape and manage the urban giant.*

The characteristics of urban growth and its concomitant problems have important administrative implications.[1] First, to fulfill urban development functions government must cope with constant change—demographic, social, economic and

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*General terms for governmental entities are used throughout this report. "State" refers to any one of the fifty major units of the United States. "Municipality" refers to basic local-government units, including those legally designated as districts or cities. "Regional" and "metropolitan" in general refer to various forms of sub-state government that could include various municipalities, cross state boundaries or be comprised of various counties.

political. Second, its resources and activity must increase
significantly. Unless major adjustments are made to increase
public resources and administrative capacity, urban govern-
ment is confronted with an overload of demands. Third, it
must be equipped to handle these demands of rising complexity
and technicality. More and more issues handled by the
political system require skilled planning and analysis for
resolution. Fourth, its organization must be adapted to
new functions and relationships. Strain is placed on
existing organizational arrangements by the new tasks and
subjects of government concern. Finally, it must take
account of future consequences of present actions. This
implication is the time dimension of urban problems. As
these implications are underlying themes of this research,
they warrant a brief summation at the outset.

First, a basic administrative challenge of urbanization
is the necessity for coping with change itself. Solutions
to urban problems require developmental strategies. Develop-
ment administration has been defined as an effort to "con-
centrate attention on the administrative requisites for
achieving public policy goals, particularly in (areas) where
these goals involve dramatic political, economic and social
transformations."[2] This research views urban administration
as development administration, meaning the pursuit of public
policy goals requiring major and interrelated transformations
of the urban environment through new public functions and
new solutions to new and old problems.

Many administrative problems relate to the inability of
government to cope with change in a routine manner and to
shift its focus to public-service goals. Where little
progress is made on urban problems, one tends to find con-
servative, cautious bureaucracies, an absence of leadership
and planning, decision-making centers insulated from demands
for innovation and improvement, and elected officials more
concerned with contracts and appointments than with policy

and performance.[3] Approaches to overcoming those problems
are manifold. Political and technical methods for defining
priorities and for establishing agreement among the diverse
participants are among the most important. Establishing
concensus and following through on programs requires capable
leadership, clear allocation of responsibility, initiative,
and growing commitment to development aims.

Certain governmental factors can be identified that in-
fluence the ability of the urban political system to cope
continually and rapidly with change and that vary from place
to place — the capability of local or metropolitan author-
ities to formulate regional policies and mobilize regional
power; the type of political interests to which officials
are responsive; the relative roles of local and central
authorities; and, the importance of planning as a style of
decision making.[4]

Attempts to provide for rapid action and innovation
generate counter pressures for coordination and control in
urban government.[5] Arrangements suited to the first purpose —
such as flexible communications, special authorities, and
competing jurisdictions — may stimulate experimentation and
execution of new proposals, but reduce coordination and
control. The tension between these fundamental administrative
principles is central to most organizational issues.

A second administrative ramification of urbanization is
the pressure for sheer increase in governmental activity,
especially increase in per capita public expenditure and
capital investment. In most metropolitan areas, fiscal
problems have prevented government from expanding public
services and executing projects at a rate which it deemed
desirable. In many instances, levels and priorities of
public expenditure have changed little, while rapid urban
growth has radically altered the nature and magnitude of
demands for government activity.[6]

To a large extent, the quality of public services varies from city to city, and from one neighborhood to another, depending upon the wealth therein. In addition, however, political and governmental factors limit the utilization of existing fiscal resources. Fears on the part of political leaders regarding popular resistance to tax increases are the most common obstacles to expanding public finance in the city.[7] Inelastic and fragmented local tax bases, as well as waste-producing fiscal administration, also limit government capabilities. Above all, strong leadership is essential in order to expand tax revenues.

A third administrative implication of urbanization is the need for increased technical capability. Styles of bargaining and influence that resolve group conflict do not alone suffice for determining how to construct housing cheaply or how to expand job opportunities. Many urban governments are entering into new technical services previously nonexistent or privately provided, e.g., mass transportation. Use of highly technical systems approaches to urban planning and budgeting pose additional and new manpower requirements. Technologies of project planning, engineering, and construction for urban public facilities have lagged due to limited commitment of resources for research and development.

There are several administrative requisites for tackling technical problems. The first is that of bringing technical expertise and competent personnel into urban government. Another requisite involves resolving the tensions between bureaucratic specialization and political responsibility, and between planning and bargaining. Still another requisite is that of developing advanced procedures for large-scale government processes, such as programming, forecasting, budgeting, fiscal management, data collection and policy analysis.[8]

The fourth administrative implication of urbanization is the need for new organizational patterns. As public activity expands in urban areas, there is, invariably, an increasing division of work. Where local government alone has been responsible for local services, State and Federal authorities become participants, and vice versa. Where a small, integrated bureaucracy has carried out government duties, new, specialized departments emerge, together with independent authorities and public corporations. Where a single city has been involved in urban functions, several suburban municipalities or field offices of higher levels of government are now drawn into play. How to assign the work of government, yet coordinate the parts and harness the specialized tasks to goals and objectives of development, is a classic problem of organization.[9] It is especially important in the modern urban context, where every need or demand for government action must run a complex series of administrative channels to become a policy or program output. The structure of these channels influences the speed of the process and the quality of the outcome. As government responds to the changing urban environment, however, the division of work among agencies and tiers of authority is more often influenced by accretions from the past than by the nature of present problems. It is easier to add on to an established system than it is to uproot and reorganize it.[10]

In terms of the geographic aspects of government organization, urban problems defy traditional boundaries. The fundamental interdependence of segments of the metropolis and demands for broad urban development programs have stimulated debates about the desirable geographic scale for urban government.[11] Organizational responses to these pressures have ranged from intermunicipal negotiation and cooperation to creation of a general metropolitan government. Where these responses do not provide an adequate framework

for metropolitan communication and action, the results are usually failure to take any steps on some mounting problems, together with conflict and stalemate on others and dispro-portionate levels of service throughout the urban area.[12] In essence, the issue posed is how to adjust the scale of local government and Federal or State administration to the shifting scale of urban problems that confront them.

There is also an increasing division of work by process or role among tiers of government involved in urban affairs. For example, Federal or State authorities may provide capital funds and legal regulation; municipalities may con-struct facilities and manage public services; and a regional unit may prepare plans — all bearing on the same public program. Thus, the administrative processes for undertaking a single task shift from intragovernmental to intergovern-mental. The national importance of large metropolitan areas, their needs for scarce expertise, and their requirements for enormous capital investment give Federal and State authorities increasingly important roles.[13] As a result, execution of most major urban programs depends on action by several governments.

One approach to coordinating the proliferating partici-pants in urban government has been to intensify administrative hierarchy through centralized control and plans. However, there are points of diminishing returns to centralizing authority for so complex an undertaking as governing the metropolis. Flexibility, responsiveness, and equity are values that are seldom furthered by singleminded concentra-tion of hierarchial neatness. Therefore, it is important that the actors in urban administration recognize their interdependence and cooperate among themselves.[14]

A fifth administrative implication of urban problems is their time dimension. Most large public facilities in metropolitan areas have capital plants with a long life. Major investment decisions are being made today that will

have significant ramifications for urban life for years to
come, some of them irreversible without monumental costs.
Thus, trial and error modes of decision making may entail
important social and economic costs. The adequacy of
facilities built today depends, in large part, upon the
growth in demands for their use over a long period of time.
Where the perspectives of sponsoring governments are limited
to one or a few fiscal years, the facilities are frequently
found to be obsolete upon completion, and targets for pro-
gram results prove to be unrealistic. Undesired future
effects are not anticipated in time for modification of
present courses of action. Long- and medium-range planning,
research, policy analysis, and capital budgeting are impor-
tant adaptations to urbanization where large-scale invest-
ments are being programmed within a short time span. In
short, to cope with metropolitan problems, government must
not only deal with existing conditions, but must also
anticipate those of the future.[15]

These, then, are the administrative challenges inherent
in the urban phenomenon. Whether these provide valid
criteria for organizational change has been much debated by
political scientists and public administration experts.[16]
Criteria of economy and efficiency are themselves seldom
clear and, in general, are rarely the sole bases for political
decisions and organizational choices. Several scholars have
argued, on the basis of political studies in the United
States, that government control of the urban environment,
rational planning, and expansion of public services are
values that will be rejected time and again by local political
systems.[17] The reasoning behind these conclusions stems
largely from the assumption that there are strong vested
interests in the status quo, as well as meaningful disagree-
ments as to desirable patterns of human settlement and want-
satisfaction. Nevertheless, there is sufficient interest in
governmental contributions to urban development to warrant

analysis of government structure and the planning processes
in terms of overall capability to resolve urban problems.

Several key questions are important to this effort.
How important are form and structure in shaping the output
of the political system for metropolitan areas? How likely
are governmental reorganization attempts to achieve the
purposes for which they were undertaken? More importantly,
and central to the intent of this research, how applicable
is the planning process, as currently practiced, to integra-
tion with reformed structures of metropolitan government?
Moreover, what measures of restructured planning theory and
practices would enable metropolitan planners to link workable
strategies of growth and control to important participants
involved in the political arena of decision making, given
that some reorganized form of government has occurred? This
study will attempt to suggest some changes to the planning
process that must be integrated with government reform
measures if strategies to combat the challenges of the
metropolis are to be responsive and effective for the long-
term good of all.

The significance of the hypothesis that the current
practice of urban planning is inappropriate for use with
reformed structures of government and the revamped political
climates of decision making promoted by such reforms will
be elaborated on in the chapters to follow. Chapter II
traces the evolution and nature of America's metropolises
and stresses the socio-economic and political implications
imparted to metropolitan planning and attempts to reform
government. Chapter III depicts the governmental context
of the metropolitan planning function. Existing forms of
municipal government, planning agency organization and inter-
governmental relations are studied in relation to each
other as necessary parts of a conceptual basis for the
reform of metropolitan government and the simultaneous
reformation of planning principles and practices. In

Chapter IV, theoretical and conceptual issues surrounding
the political circumstances leading to involvement in
planning are developed. From an analysis of these issues,
a model of the urban political environment, of which
planning is a part, is postulated in order to uncover the
relationship of conflict management to the performance of
the metropolitan planning function. Chapter V examines the
traditional approach to urban planning in relation to its
past performance in combating the challenges posed by the
forces of metropolitanization even when coupled with local
government reorganization strategies. From this analysis,
a normative framework of metropolitan planning is posited
as being a necessary adjunct to an improved planning process
that could cope with the management of urban change in
metropolitan areas. Procedures for the creation of a
Metropolitan Planning and Development Authority are forwarded
as being an essential interim areawide instrument for
carrying out the elements of normative metropolitan planning
while the debate over strategies of metropolitan reform
continue. A final section summarizes the findings of this
research and concludes with several recommendations concern-
ing the roles and responsibilities of State and Federal
governments in initiating the proper legislation required
for furthering past efforts and present attempts to improve
the governance of metropolis.

Although it will not be possible (or even desirable) to
formulate general answers applicable to all systems of
politics and government, neither is it necessary to abandon
all efforts to generalize. Scholars in this young field
confront the challenge to design research that will discover
patterns or trends in the relationships between government
structure, environmental conditions, political considerations
and the theory and practice of planning. This research can
only suggest some of the more obvious relationships and, by
describing existing systems of urban government, provide

additional material for proposition-building. Subsequent
studies must discover whether and how strategies for
changing or perturbating the function of planning vary with
local traditions, political forces and various stages of
economic and technological advancement of human society.

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14. Herbert Kaufman has distinguished between two types of coordination — communication and control — pointing out that when disjointed action among agencies results from lack of knowledge or general policy, it may be overcome by communication (exchange of information, joint committees, etc.). When it results more from real conflict of opinions and interests, coordination depends in larger part upon opportunities for hard bargaining or for superior authority to impose solutions. See Herbert Kaufman, "Organization Theory and Political Theory," American Political Science Review, vol. LVIII, .no. 1 (March 1964).

15. David Ranney, Planning and Politics in the Metropolis (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publ. Co., 1969), pp. 167-168.

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CHAPTER II

THE PLANNING FUNCTION AND METROPOLITANISM

The formulation of local planning policy is done for the benefit of individual municipal jurisdictions which generally lie within metropolitan areas. These areas contain a large number of governmental units which are politically independent but physically and economically interdependent. Planning policy which benefits one municipality may be harmful to other parts of the metropolis. Since that policy was formulated by an independent political jurisdiction and because planners must accommodate the desires of the constituency which hired them, aggrieved parties usually have little recourse. Therefore, in order to understand how planning policy is formulated, it is necessary to understand how the development of metropolitan areas produced interdependent municipal jurisdictions with basically different and often conflicting goals and objectives.

The distribution of the population and economic activity among these multiple governmental jurisdictions generates different kinds of planning issues in different parts of the metropolis. Additionally, the functional interdependence of the politically independent municipalities has produced both a need for areawide planning and strong political resistance to the implementation of meaningful metropolitan planning policies. The complexity of the urban environment resulting from metropolitanism has been an important stimulus to the present evolution of planning theory and techniques. Slums, urban violence, fiscal problems, local unemployment and other difficulties all

represent failures of past planning efforts to meet the needs of the developing metropolis. Further, these problems have a feedback effect which planners and students of planning have failed to recognize as catalysts for future failures. Thus, planning policy formulation is a dynamic process where the policies made today have a profound influence on the policies of tomorrow.

The Metropolitan Scene

The emergence of urban planning as a function of the American local governmental system occurred around the turn of the 19th century, at a time when the majority of the problems facing cities were primarily a result of the socio-economic forces associated with rapid urbanization.[1] As has been adequately discussed by many astute scholars, the process of urbanization was quite different from the modern urban phenomenon which has come to be termed metropolitanization.[2] Explaining and understanding how the latter process is affecting the planning function today requires that a careful distinction between urbanization and metropolitanization be established.

Urbanization can best be described as a process of centralization that results from the interaction of two forces. One of these forces, rural push, was caused by important changes in the technology of agriculture which began in the early 1800's. Improved soil technology and the development of farm machinery made possible significant increases in agricultural productivity at the expense of a substantially reduced labor force. Between 1820 and 1840 the proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture began a continuing sharp decline so that by 1880 less than one-half of the labor force in the United States was employed in agriculture. Consequently, farmers displaced by improved farm technology became the victims of this rural push and had to look to the cities for alternative employment opportunities.

Coinciding with the gaining momentum of rural push was the concept of a new industrial technology termed mass production which enabled firms to specialize in the manufacturing of large quantities of a wide variety of goods and products. Subsequent declines in transportation costs opened wider markets for the goods being produced by the new industrial technology. As a result, industries found it advantageous to concentrate in urban centers where they depended upon one another for materials, services and goods that went into their final product. Quite naturally, the developing economies of concentration created increased employment opportunities in the cities. Thus, changes in industrial technology established an urban pull which attracted people from rural to urban areas.

A relative comparison of the concentration of the United States population in urban areas during the 19th and 20th centuries is depicted in Table II-1.[3] In 1800 only 6.1 percent of the population resided in urban areas. By the turn of the century, this figure had risen to nearly 40 percent and presently has stabilized at approximately 74 percent.

Although an increasing proportion of the population is living in urban areas, the distribution of population within these areas has undergone a change. This change has resulted in the formation of metropolitan areas.[4]* Since the end of World War II, a considerable number of central city residents and industries have been moving out of the city and settling in the surrounding areas. The decentralization of both population and economic activity within metropolitan areas is called metropolitanization and is a different process than that characterized by urbanization. The process of metropolitanization involves a spreading of people and jobs

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*For a discussion of some of the problems associated with Census definitions of metropolitan areas, see Appendix B.

Table II-1. The Distribution and Growth of United States
Population in Urban Areas, and SMSA Population
in Central Cities, 1900-1975

Year	Percent of U.S. Population in Urban Areas	Total SMSA Population (thousands)	Percent of SMSA Population Within Central Cities
1900	39.7	31,836	62.2
1910	45.7	42,012	64.6
1920	51.2	52,508	66.0
1930	54.1	66,712	64.6
1940	56.5	72,576	62.7
1950	59.6	88,964	58.7
1960	63.1	112,385	51.4
1970	69.0	139,482	44.6
1975*	73.5	154,286	41.8

*Estimated

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population,
Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, Part I, United
States Summary, Table 3.

from the city outward. Table II-1 also documents the fact
that there has been a redistribution of people. Between
1900 and 1920 the proportion of the metropolitan population
residing within the central city increased from 62.2 per-
cent to 66.0 percent.   This was largely due to the fact
that much of the non-central city portions of metropolitan
areas were being used for farming. However, since 1920 the
proportion of metropolitan population living in the central
city has steadily declined with the greatest decline occurring
between 1950 and 1960. Thus, the more recent phenomenon,
known as metropolitanization, has been characterized by
people moving out of these central cities into the suburbs.

Just as there are a number of substantive reasons for urbanization, there are also explanations for the movement of people from the city to the suburbs. In the case of metropolitanization there was a city push and a suburban pull. The problems of the city created by rapid urbanization fostered an anti-city feeling among many of the city's residents. Noise, dirt, congestion, crime, the growing presence of slums and a growing concentration of Negroes became forces which pushed those who could afford it to move out of the city.[5] There were a number of economic and technological conditions that enabled people to satisfy their anti-city feelings and move out of the city. In the post-World War II period real incomes were rising. Secondly, home ownership became easier after the Federal government went into the business of guaranteeing mortgages. Another factor which facilitated the move to the suburbs was the growing ownership of automobiles and the subsequent development of highways that connected the cities to the suburbs. People were now able to commute from suburban residences to places of work within the central city.[6]

As the suburbs began to grow, they soon developed desirable features which only reinforced the push from the city. The earliest suburban residents were primarily the most wealthy people in the area. Moving to the suburbs soon became a symbol of having achieved a high social and economic status. Coupled with the aspect of status-seeking was the desire to own a freestanding house with a yard. This desire could be more easily satisfied in the suburbs where land for home building was available at a reasonable price. Furthermore, the good reputation of the suburban schools encouraged people to move from the city where schools were older and on the decline. Finally, the contrast between the large city and the relatively small town atmosphere of many suburbs enhanced the attractiveness of the suburb.

Some students of metropolitanism have argued that suburbia represented a grass root's democracy and a feeling of community that people could not find in the big city.[7] The idea that smallness in city size is an ideal that many Americans value is consistent with a recent survey which indicated that 64 percent of those surveyed would prefer to live in a place other than the city.[8] Thirty-four percent of those surveyed said that they preferred to live in open country; thirty percent preferred a "small town or city." A recent survey of Wisconsin residents when asked a question on preferred proximity to a large city responded that they would prefer to live in smaller places but within commuting distance of a metropolitan central city.[9] In fact, if taken at their word, 70 percent of the Wisconsin survey respondents would prefer to live near a metropolitan area, whereas only 54 percent now do. Thus, if the results of the Wisconsin survey respondents reflect the national attitudes it means that people want the best of both worlds— the serene environment of the suburbs and the opportunity and excitement of the central city and its fringe.

One other point about the movement of people to the suburbs is that the people who moved out of the city were not representative elements of the population. The out-migration to the suburbs was a sorting out process which created suburban communities with relatively homogeneous classes of white middle and upper income families. Thus, the cities were left with a concentration of people that were predominantly non-white, made the least amount of money and had a significantly lower level of education. As Table II-2 illustrates, blacks and whites with similar incomes are not found in the same proportions in the suburbs.[10] However, data for metropolitan areas, such as that in Table II-2, tend to overstate the presence of blacks in individual communities characterized by economic and racial differentiation among suburbs. For example, in Essex County,

Table II-2. Suburban Population by Race and Family Income, 1969

Family Income	Number of Families (in thousands)		Percent of Families	
	White	Black	White	Black
Under $5,000	1,967	224	89.9	10.1
$5,000 - $9,999	5,167	279	94.9	5.1
$10,000-$14,999	5,642	140	97.6	2.4
$15,000-$19,999	2,742	57	98.0	2.0
$20,000-$24,999	1,055	17	98.4	1.6
$25,000 and over	1,002	9	99.1	0.9
Total	17,575	726	96.0	4.0

New Jersey, 53.1 percent of the residents of East Orange, 35.7 percent of those in Orange, and 27.1 percent of those in Montclair are black, compared with 0.3 percent in Livingston, 1.7 percent in Maplewood, 1.8 percent in Bloomfield, and 3.9 percent in Irvington, all nearby communities in the same county.[11]

Resistance to blacks is greatest in the lower-income suburbs. The affluent suburbanite can rely on the market-place—with guidance from the local planning board—to place his community off limits to all but a handful of upper-income blacks.[12] But the situation is quite different in the in-expensive suburbs where housing is economically accessible to a growing number of blacks. Many residents of these suburbs already have fled once or twice from city neighbor-hoods in the wake of the arrival of the blacks. The efforts by blue-collar suburbanites in Warren, Michigan, over the last six years, best illustrates this point. They have physically attacked a home purchased by a racially mixed couple, vetoed 100 units of public housing, jeered then-Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney in

the wake of newspaper stories indicating that Warren was a
prime target in HUD's effort to promote integration in the
suburbs, and voted down urban renewal because of local fears
that blacks would accompany the Federal dollars.[13] While
racism certainly accounts for part of the hostility of
residents of Warren and similar suburbs to blacks, more than
racial prejudice is involved in the spatially differentiated
metropolis:[14]

> People in Warren are acting on the most real
> evidence they have—the evidence of conditions
> in Detroit where property loses value and
> schools decline because, they believe, the
> blacks have moved in. You can't read racist
> motives into all of these reactions.

Thus blacks are excluded from the suburbs for both economic
and racial reasons, and the two reinforce one another. It
should not be surprising then, that so many blacks conclude
that a segregated neighborhood is the only option available
in the racially differentiated metropolis.

The total metropolitan population grew by 26 million in
the 1960's.[15] About one-third of this growth was from
territorial expansion of existing centers and the emergence
of other communities into metropolitan status; two-thirds
was the result of population growth within constant
boundaries.

Within metropolitan boundaries as defined in 1970, 28
percent of this growth was due to net migration, consisting
of immigrants as well as migrants from nonmetropolitan areas
of the United States. As the nonmetropolitan population
becomes a smaller fraction of the nation's total, its
relative importance as a source of migration will decline.
These figures tend to emphasize the dominance of natural
increase and downplay the importance of the smaller role of
migration. The United States is a geographically mobile
society, however, and expansion and movement have been
central themes in the recent history of metropolitan growth.[16]

Migration is basically a process of adjustment. For the individual, it represents a personal adjustment to changing life circumstances and opportunities. Whether across town or across the country, movement provides access to areas of greater opportunity—social, economic, and political. For the nation as a whole, migration helps achieve a balance between social and economic activities on the one hand and population numbers on the other. As people move about the country, their actions create broad social, economic, and political realignments. Balance is achieved through three broad types of movement: (1) the shift from economically depressed regions, often rural, to areas of expanding employment and higher wages, usually metropolitan; (2) the movement of the population within metropolitan areas—the flight from the central city to the suburbs—historically an adjustment to changing housing needs and a desire for more space (as previously discussed); and (3) the system of migration flows among metropolitan areas by which migrants participate in a nationwide job market, moving to areas offering economic advancement and other personal preferences.[17]

Nearly 40 million Americans, or one in five, change homes each year. Roughly one in 15—a total of 13 million people—migrate across a county line.[18] These rates have remained virtually unchanged over the forty years for which data are available. In part because of the relative decline in rural population, the majority of people moving to metropolitan areas are now coming from other urban areas.

Whether it is a short or a long haul, those who move are typically the better educated, more skilled young adults, seeking a better life. Nearly a third of all migrants are in their twenties, and they bring with them young children: A tenth of all migrants are between the ages of one and four.[19] Thus, migration represents more than the numbers would suggest. It is a determining factor in terms of the

needs and demands for planning services—where and when
heavy demands for housing, transportation and health and
educational services will be felt.

Since World War II, metropolitan migrations have in-
cluded large numbers of blacks. Their transition from rural
to metropolitan life has been faster, more recent, and more
extensive than that of whites; 74 percent of the black
population of the United States is now metropolitan, com-
pared with 68 percent of whites. Blacks, more than whites,
tend to live in the larger metropolitan areas, and four-
fifths of them live in the central cities.[20]

Recent streams of migration among regions also have
varied substantially by race. In the 1960's there was a net
movement of whites out of the north, to the west and south
Blacks moved from the south to the north and west. The net
effect was an exchange of population between the north and
south, with the west experiencing net in-migration of both
whites and blacks. In the south, it was the nonmetropolitan
areas that experienced the heaviest outmigration of blacks.
The main areas receiving white in-migrants were Florida, the
Washington-Baltimore area, and large metropolitan areas in
Texas.[21]

The migration effects associated with metropolitaniza-
tion were reinforced and initiated by both push and pull
forces associated with economic movements. Because of the
importance of retail establishments to be near the customer,
many retail outlets began to locate in the suburbs which
resulted in a reduction of sales increases in the city.
Lower land values, abundant space, and the development of
highway networks promoted the movement of both people and
products and consequently made suburban location possible
for the retailer. The convenience of suburban shopping
centers and the availability of free parking spaces also
appealed to the suburbanite.[22]

Evidence of the greater relative growth of suburban re-
tail business is documented in a recent study.[23]   This study
indicates that between 1964 and 1965 the suburbs could claim
over half of the value of building permits issued for new
retail establishments. In addition, the payroll employment
in retail establishments between 1960 and 1965 grew faster
in the suburbs than in the city. As sales began to level
off in the city, the remaining retail establishments began
to feel an economic push to move to greener pastures. It
is reasonable to assume that retail decentralization will
become greater in the future as the process of metropolitan-
ization continues. Further, there is a growing amount of
evidence which supports the fact that major commercial
activities, which, in the past, were largely contained with-
in the boundaries of the central city, have left the down-
town and are not likely to return.[24]

Subsequent to the retailers moving out of the city was
the occurrence of a similar movement by the wholesalers.[25]
One basic principle as regards the location of wholesale
business is to find a spot of operations where products can
be moved with the most ease and the least cost. Because
this spot tends to be at the fringe of the most highly con-
gested areas in the metropolis, the size of a given metro-
politan area tends to be an important factor in the location
requirements of wholesaling establishments. Within the
larger metropolitan areas this location tends to be in the
suburbs or at the perimeter of the city.[26]

Many manufacturers have also moved their facilities
out of the city.[27] Probably the major reason for the out-
ward movement of these industrial plants was the need for
increased horizontal space required by mass production.
This space was not available in the city, but large expanses
of land outside the city were and at a relatively low price.
In addition to these push and pull forces, certain
technological and demographic changes made the move to the

suburbs more feasible. The already discussed population movement to the suburbs meant that a sufficient labor pool existed. Similarly, this labor pool now had automobiles and could get to work from a variety of places. Therefore the decision-making involved in determining industrial locations was somewhat independent of labor supply proximity. A technological change that added to the feasibility of locating industry in the suburbs was the increased use of trucks to move materials and products. Lower shipping costs by truck and the flexibility of this mode of transportation enabled many industries to locate away from waterways and railroad lines.[28]

It must be pointed out, however, that not all kinds of manufacturing activity found it advantageous to move to the suburbs. Those industries needing unskilled low-wage workers remained in the city to be near their source of labor. Industries that utilized the products of other manufacturers for the making of their own products continued to find a centralized location more advantageous.[29] These industries benefit from the external economies of regional input-output relationships and consequently their profit margins are more heavily dependent upon centralized locations than are the profit margins of more locally-oriented industries. Another type of firm that has tended to stay in the city is the small firm that does not require a large amount of horizontal space. Such firms generally occupy the same quarters with other small industries and share in the use of common facilities made available in the city.[30]

In sum, it can be stated that metropolitanization has had an impact on the locational and spatial requirements of industries. While some types of industries continue to find the central city a good location, many more do not. Recent statistics indicate that there has been a decline in the central city as regards the amount of manufacturing activities occurring there. Between 1930 and 1970 the value

of goods manufactured in the central city as a percentage
of all the goods produced in the metropolis had declined.[31]
As documented by the Bureau of Census, central cities
produced 66.1 percent of the total value of the products
produced in various metropolitan areas in 1929. By 1947 the
proportion had fallen to 60.8 percent; by 1958 it was 48.9
percent, and in 1963 it was 46.4 percent. Furthermore,
data on building permits issued and payroll employment for
manufacturing establishments indicates that between 1954 and
1971 industries have increasingly been locating in the
suburbs of the metropolis.[32]

Some Characteristics of the Metropolis

The trends identified previously describe the major
elements of metropolitanization. It is important to note
that the phenomenon of metropolitanization is an ongoing
process and that the trends which have been discussed are
continuing. In order to assess the impact of these trends
on the profession of planning, it is necessary to examine
how far the decentralization process has progressed. The
distribution of people, economic activity, and political
jurisdiction within metropolitan areas greatly affect the
nature and scope of the planning issues which arise in
different parts of the metropolis. Therefore, a close look
at some current selected social, economic, and political
characteristics of metropolitan areas is a necessary step
toward understanding the relationship between metropolitanism
and the planning function.

As noted, metropolitanization has involved a breakdown
of the population into categories according to ethnic traits
and socio-economic status. Those persons of the highest
socio-economic status are predominantly suburban dwellers.
For this reason the people at the bottom of the socio-economic
ladder are highly concentrated in the central city.[33] The
following table compares central cities to suburbs with

Table II-3. Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of
Cities and Suburbs

Characteristic	Central City	Suburb*
Median Family Income (1969)	$6,067	$9,590
Percentage of Persons 25 Years or Older With 4 or More Years of High School (1960)	40.9%	59.9%
% Non-White (1960)	17.8%	5.2%
% Non-White (1970)	24.9%	6.3%

*The definition of suburb used here is what the Census calls
"urban fringe" or the urbanized area surrounding the
central city and within the Census' "Standard Metropolitan
Statistical Area."

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table II-4. Proportion of Metropolitan Population in
Suburbs, by Race and Income, 1969

Income	Percent In Suburbs		
	All Races	White	Black
Under $5,000	41.8	48.9	19.0
$5,000 - $9,999	51.6	56.3	20.2
$10,000 - $14,999	61.0	63.7	23.0
$15,000 - $19,999	63.2	65.5	25.7
$20,000 - $24,999	64.4	66.1	29.3
$25,000 and over	65.5	66.0	34.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

respect to three socio-economic characteristics: income,
race, and education. The differences between city and
suburb shown in this table illustrate the impact of metro-
politanization on the distribution of population within
metropolitan areas. Central city residents tend to have a
lower level of income and education than suburbanites. These
differences in income and education are largely a reflection
of the fact that the central city is increasingly becoming
the home of minority groups (particularly Negroes) who tend
to have less education, less income and higher levels of
unemployment. The increase in the percentage of non-whites
in central cities between 1960 and 1970 is clearly demon-
strated by the table. In addition, the data in Table II-3
indicate that the presence of non-whites in the suburbs is
low and relatively stable. Table II-4 further indicates that
blacks and whites with similar incomes are not found in the
same proportions in the central city or suburb.[34] In 1970,
almost half of all white families with incomes under $5,000
lived in the suburbs, compared with less than 20 percent of
the black families with a similar economic situation. In
addition, over 60 percent of all whites earning between
$10,000 and $15,000 live in the suburbs, while less than a
quarter of the blacks in the same income bracket reside in
the outer city. Even among those with incomes of more than
$25,000, the proportion of whites in the suburbs is nearly
double that of blacks. Nor do the economic levels of most
black families explain their concentration in a small number
of suburban jurisdictions and their exclusion from many
lower income suburbs as was previously discussed.

    The average percentage of non-whites in all central
cities undoubtedly understates the situation. In a few
large cities, Negroes already comprise a majority of the
population.[35] Projections of population by race have been
made in a number of central cities for the year 1985.[36]
These projections indicate that Negro isolation could become

even more serious than it is today. As seen in Figure II-1,
projections show that, between 1960 and 1985, central cities
could lose 2.5 million or 5 percent of their whites, but
gain 10 million non-whites, a 94 percent increase. This
means that non-whites would move up from 18 to 31 percent of
the population of the Nation's central cities. The suburbs,
on the other hand, will continue to maintain their white
population and enjoy higher incomes and educational levels.
Thus, if the Negroes continue moving into the suburbs at
the current rate, their projected number will jump from 2.8
to 6.8 million. However, the number of suburban whites
will also more than double, from 52 to 106 million. There-
fore, the additional Negroes will be all but lost in a sea
of whites, as their proportional increase will move from
only 5 to 6 percent of the total suburban population by 1985.
While these are projections, and not predictions, they do
indicate the direction in which the nation is heading—a
shift toward greater racial stratification.

The movement of economic activity away from the city
has resulted in some significant differences between city
and suburb with respect to the location of jobs.[37] An in-
creasing proportion of jobs within the metropolis are to be
found in the suburbs. As noted earlier, the suburbs have
been gaining a large share of the value of building permits
for nearly all kinds of non-residential buildings and a share
of total payroll employment for retail and industrial es-
tablishments. Approximately three-quarters of all new
industrial plants in metropolitan areas were located in the
suburbs during the 1960's. Of the 571,000 new jobs created
in the Chicago area since 1960, more than 75 percent—437,000—
were located outside the city.[38] As indicated in Table II-5,
the suburban share of new employment has been even greater
in many other major metropolitan areas over the past twenty
years.

Millions of Persons
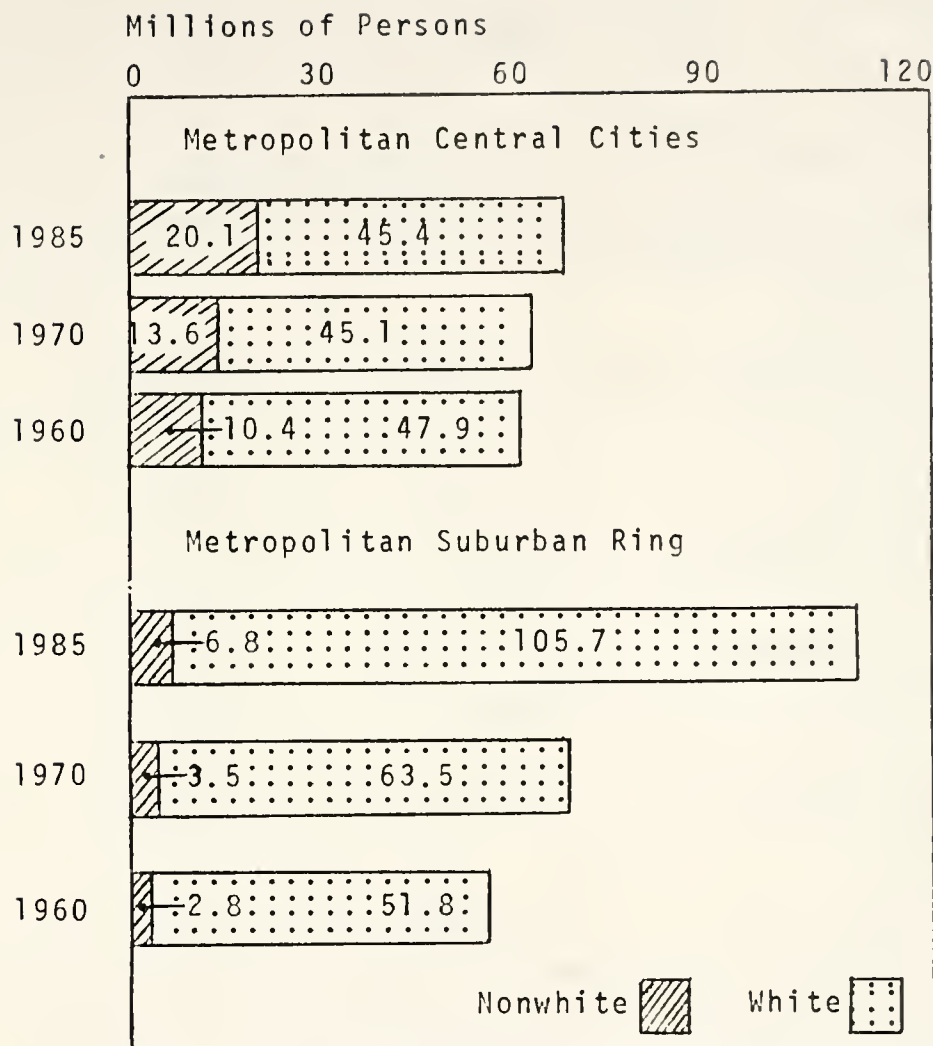
Figure II-1. Metropolitan Population by Race Showing Growth
of Nonwhite Proportion in Central Cities and
of Whites in Suburbs

Source: Patricia L. Hodge and Philip M. Hauser, The
Challenge of America's Metropolitan Population Outlook—1960
to 1985, National Commission on Urban Problems, Research
Report No. 3 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office,
1968).

   Additionally, retail sales have been growing at least
10 times faster in the suburbs than in the cities—between
1958 and 1967, sales in the suburbs of the 40 largest metro-
politan areas increased 47 percent compared to an increase
of 4.3 percent in the cities.[39] The only component of the
local economy that continues to experience significant growth

Table II-5. Central City and Suburban Jobs in Six Metro-
politan Areas, 1951 and 1968

Metropolitan Area	Number of Jobs		Percent Change
	1951	1968	
Baltimore			
Central City	344,446	363,431	6
Suburbs	86,333	225,728	161
St. Louis			
Central City	419,814	380,570	-9
Suburbs	154,852	378,590	144
Philadelphia			
Central City	773,622	770,852	*
Suburbs	372,759	694,924	86
San Francisco			
Central City	342,289	386,977	13
Suburbs	283,759	533,811	88
Washington, D.C.			
Central City	233,795	322,702	38
Suburbs	73,508	322,420	352
New York			
Central City	3,008,364	3,309,851	10
Suburbs	1,676,668	2,528,285	51

*Indicates a percent change of less than 1 percent.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

within the large cities is office jobs in the central
business district, and even in this category, city gains in
employment and office building construction tend to be out-
stripped by growth in the suburbs.

The social and economic disparities between the city
and suburbs produce significant variations in the demands
placed on local governments, as well as in the resources
available to them. At the heart of the crisis of the older
cities is the fact that every major city bears a dispropor-
tionate share of the burden of caring for the poor and
black citizens of the metropolis. Typical is the situation

of Louisville, which encompasses less than half of the
population of its metropolitan area, but has more than 90
percent of its public assistance recipients.[40] The concen-
tration of low-income, high public cost families in the
older neighborhoods is the result of regional and national
forces over which an individual city has little or no
control.[41]

Fiscal problems in the cities are intensified by other
problems which grow out of the social, economic, and govern-
mental differences between city and suburb. Size itself
imposes certain costs, since cities over 250,000—with their
larger infrastructures and unionized employees—typically
experience higher unit costs than medium-size municipalities.[42]
Greater expense also results from higher population densities
and the concentration of economic activity, which are closely
related to higher costs for police and fire protection, as
well as for public transportation. City governments also
usually provide a wider range of public services than the
average suburb. As a result, the per capita costs of local
governmental services other than education are significantly
higher—$232 in the cities in 1964-65 compared with $132 in
the suburbs. Yet, for these higher outlays, the middle-
income city resident typically does not receive what he
perceives to be better or even equivalent local services
compared with his counterpart in the suburb.[43]

More than fiscal disparities between the city and
suburbs result from the concentration of the poor, the
elderly, blacks, and other disadvantaged groups in the urban
core. The fiscal crisis has created a politics of scarcity
in most cities which, in turn, has intensified conflicts
among the diverse interests of the inner city. The concen-
tration of blacks in the core means that most racial con-
frontation in the metropolis occurs in the central city.
Competition for housing between blacks and "moderate" and
lower income whites takes place almost entirely within the

cities, which intensifies racial tensions between blacks and the remaining clusters of working-class ethnic groups, the largest single group of whites left in many older cities.[44]

What the city has become in the divided metropolis strongly reinforces the suburban desire to maintain the political separation of city and suburb. For the resident of the outer city, political autonomy is the key to insulating his family, his neighborhood, and his community from the inner city and its blacks, racial tensions, changing neighborhoods, rising welfare population, and mounting crime rate.[45]

Up to this point, suburbia has been collectively treated in order to facilitate comparison with the central city. In most metropolitan areas, however, the outer city is subdivided into a number of suburban jurisdictions, which vary in size, age, population density, tax resources, major land uses, and the socio-economic composition of the population. A majority of suburban jurisdictions are residential communities, but some are primarily industrial or commercial, and a growing number of the larger units have a mixture of land uses which provide them with a more balanced local political economy than the typical bedroom community.[46]

Differentiation among suburbs results primarily from superimposing the small scale of the typical suburban governmental jurisdiction on the spatial differentiation of land uses and population in the metropolitan area. Suburbia as a whole has become increasingly heterogeneous as more people settle in the outer city and a growing range of activities locate there. But this diversity rarely is reflected in the typical suburb, whose limited area tends to encompass a more homogeneous population and a less varied economic base than is found in the entire suburban area.[47]

Spatial differentiation and political fragmentation combine to produce disparities among suburbs which often are greater than those between the suburbs and the central city.

In the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, for example, the greatest
extremes in local resources and services are not between the
suburbs and the two central cities—both of which retain a
fair amount of middle-class residential settlement—but be-
tween the wealthy residential and balanced suburbs to the
south and the working-class bedroom communities in the
north.[48]

The ranks of the disadvantaged suburbs are growing as
urban development pushes far beyond the aging inner ring of
suburbs and as low-income families and blacks spill over
from the urban core. Local governments in these aging
suburbs often are in a more desperate position than the
large central cities which they come to resemble because
their tax bases usually are far more limited. The forces
which change an older suburb's population—which in turn
generate demands for new or increased housing, health, wel-
fare, and education programs—also are likely to be under-
cutting the local tax base as more affluent residents and
local businesses depart for greener pastures further out in
the spreading metropolis.[49]

Other variations in local political systems also result
from social and economic differences among suburbs. Upper-
income and middle-class residential communities tend to pro-
vide higher levels of support for local governmental services,
especially education, than blue-collar suburbs, even when
the latter have relatively high per capita fiscal resources
as a result of the location of industrial or commercial
ratables within their borders.[50] Suburbs with similar
populations are more likely to cooperate with one another
than those with contrasting constituencies, especially in
policy areas, such as education, which have important class
and status implications.[51] And the programs of the municipal
reform movement—particularly nonpartisan local elections
and the city manager plan—have found their most fertile
soil in suburbs whose socio-economic composition resembles

the outer neighborhoods of the industrial city which gave
rise to the reform movement.[52]

Metropolitanization has also affected the structure of
local government. In 1972, 18,517 municipal governments, or
over one-fourth of the national total were found in the 267
officially designated SMSA's. Only about one-ninth of the
metropolitan local governments had a population over 25,000,
and less than one percent had at least 25 square miles of
territory.[53] At one time the increase in governments was
the result of the incorporation of new suburbs. Today this
growth is largely due to the formation of special purpose
districts which are responsible for one or more governmental
functions such as fire protection, water supply, street
lighting, etc.[54] In general, local government within metro-
politan areas is fragmented with many overlapping jurisdic-
tions. Governmental units such as counties, cities, town-
ships and special districts possess a wide variety of powers.
In many instances a given resident must depend on each of
these kinds of governments for the services which all local
governments should provide for his benefit. This means that
the responsibility for local urban services is divided among
a variety of governmental jurisdictions most of which are
operating independently of each other.

Fragmented governmental authority and the diversity of
social and economic characteristics possessed by different
governmental jurisdictions lead to varied problems being
faced by the many political units which make up the metro-
polis. Local governments can be characterized as typically
small, overlapping, and duplicating. Perhaps the most
forceful assessment of the problem in recent years was done
by the highly respected Committee for Economic Development.
The CED's six-point assessment of the problems that result
from the proliferation and layering of local government may
be paraphrased as follows:[55]

1. Most local government units are too small to pro-
vide effective and economical solutions to their problems;

2. Extensive overlapping layers of government cause
confusion and waste the taxpayers' money;

3. Popular control over local government is ineffective
because of the excessively long ballots and the confusion
caused by the many-layered system of government;

4. Policy leadership is typically weak, if not non-
existent;

5. Archaic administrative organizations are totally
inadequate to the functional demands made upon them; and

6. The professional services of highly qualified
personnel are typically not attracted to local government.

The same study generalized from these six points, with
special reference to metropolitan areas, by stating the
following:[56]

> The most pressing problem of local government
> in metropolitan areas may be stated quite
> simply. The bewildering multiplicity of small,
> piecemeal, duplicative, overlapping local
> jurisdictions cannot cope with the staggering
> difficulties encountered in managing modern
> urban affairs. The fiscal effects of
> duplicative suburban separatism create great
> difficulty in provision of costly central
> city services benefiting the whole urbanized
> area. If local governments are to function
> effectively in metropolitan areas, they must
> have sufficient size and authority to plan,
> administer, and provide significant financial
> support for solutions to areawide problems.

The 1968 Report of the National Commission on Urban
Problems in expanding on the findings of the CED study and
after reviewing vast amounts of evidence and data, determined
that the fragmentation of local government common in metro-
politan areas has numerous bad effects:[57]

1. Many of the governmental units involved are far too
small in population and financial base to deal efficiently
with public-service needs, and too small geographically to
exercise control over the problems they are intended to

address. Their very existence, however, often bars the geographic or functional enlargement of other jurisdictions that, thus altered, might be viable and effective.

2. There are no adequate means to reconcile the competing budgetary needs of activities conducted by separate overlying units, or to hold their total financing within the capability of the particular areas they jointly serve.

3. The existence of numerous separate jurisdictions makes it difficult or impossible to prevent contradiction of public policies and programs among particular parts of the metropolitan area and among various functions.

4. The layering of governments and the existence of numerous elective officials confront the voter with confusing ballots, and make it hard for even the most interested citizen to exercise his local franchise intelligently and selectively.

5. The geographic splintering of the metropolitan area's economic base frequently results in a serious mismatch between tappable resources and service needs. This condition has been cited as the root of the "urban crisis" afflicting many metropolitan central cities; but it is likely, in the future, to cause even greater difficulty for some outlying parts of metropolitan areas.

6. The boundaries of local jurisdictions have only limited relevance to the day-to-day activities of many metropolitan residents. With governmental fragmentation and much intra-area mobility, many of the people served, regulated, and at least indirectly taxed by various governmental units in the modern metropolis lack any voice in choosing the officials or influencing the policies of the jurisdictions that affect them.

The concept of metropolitan government reform has, of recent, been receiving serious attention from planners, political scientists, and public administrators alike. Urban planning has, in general, been the spearhead of the reform

movement by virtue of its obvious need for an areawide
governmental and political basis to achieve and coordinate
areawide goals, objectives and development. This relation-
ship and the intricacies and alternatives associated with
attempted government reform measures will be discussed and
analyzed more closely in Chapters III and V. At this point
in the research, however, the intention is only to surface
the undeniable need for restructuring the present archaic
pattern of local governments as but one facet in dealing
with the problems of the metropolis. In sum, the arguments
cited herein depict a situation involving a lack of fit
between policy-making units and those units of jurisdiction
charged with the responsibilities of ameliorating problems
of crime, pollution, poverty, transportation, and so forth.
A recent study conducted by the Advisory Commission on Inter-
governmental Relations identified four basic aspects of
lingering government fragmentation in metropolitan areas
that, when taken together, constitute an agenda of challenges
that must be faced and successfully resolved if "mild chaos
is to be preserved and extreme disorder is to be avoided."[58]
The four aspects are:

    1. Externalities. Because the metropolis is an inter-
dependent system, policies undertaken by "independent"
municipal corporations or special districts may produce
changes, often unintended, in other parts of the total region.
Economists call such consequences "externalities", or, more
descriptively, "spillover effects." Land-use and zoning
policies are examples. The intricate manipulation of
zoning requirements is regularly used to produce the most
desirable mix of residents and commerce, while shifting
burdens to other areas in the metropolis, particularly to
the central city. The "zoning game" may thus be used to
maximize the benefits to one's own community while shifting
the costs to another community, particularly the less
fortunate ones.[59]

2. Fiscal Inequities. As was previously discussed, serious fiscal problems also arise from the minute splintering of metropolitan local government. As a whole, the typical SMSA has great resources—usually a higher level of personal income than is found in the rural countryside or smaller urban centers—and large private holdings of taxable property. However, these resources are not subject to tapping by local government as a whole, because they are diversely distributed within the metropolitan area, often in a way quite different from the location of needs for local public services. The resulting mismatch between needs and tappable resources is often discussed in terms of disparities between the central city and suburbia—various studies have shown that metropolitan centers have a heavier tax load than do their respective suburban counterparts.[60]

3. Absence of Political Responsibility. When there is a plethora of government units, citizen control of decision-makers is diffuse. A citizen of Fridley, Minnesota, for example, is expected to exercise informed control over eleven local governments, in addition to the State and national governments. In the absence of an overarching metropolitan government there is no policy-making body to hold accountable for broad metropolitan problems or for failures arising from government action or inaction. Such fragmentation of the citizens' attention can hardly contribute to responsible democratic government.[61]

4. Lack of Coordination and Administrative Effectiveness. A final aspect of the challenges confronting the government reformers is the coordination and effective performance of urban service functions. To perform a function effectively, a government must have the requisite legal authority to perform the tasks inherent in that service. The lack of legal authority is probably a main factor in the proliferation of special purpose governments which has hindered local flexibility in dealing with areawide service problems.

Another component of the effectiveness aspect concerns geo-
graphic adequacy. This concept calls for a government to
have a service area large enough to encompass the service
problems that it has to deal with. A basic component of
coordination and administrative effectiveness is management
capability. To be functionally effective, local governments
must successfully identify functional problems, set service
goals, design and effectively operate service delivery
systems, and openly evaluate their performance. These pro-
cedures would enable a government to better understand the
resource requirements for urban services, appraise the value
of alternative methods of service delivery, and determine when
functional performance has been successful. Finally, con-
structive intergovernmental relations are essential. To
coordinate their functional responsibilities, different
levels of government would be aided by an intergovernmental
relations policy that promotes functional cooperation and
ameliorates functional conflict. This component guarantees
that local and areawide governments, singly or jointly,
will have appropriate intergovernmental procedures and
mechanisms at their disposal by which to facilitate the
provision of public services to their citizenry.[62]

The tasks of guiding and coordinating urban development
decisions in metropolitan areas has grown beyond the ability
of municipal planning agencies. Factors affecting develop-
ment have gone beyond municipal boundaries such that area-
wide approaches for restructuring local governments need to
be created in order to provide urban services among a number
of municipalities in accordance with specific criteria that
would combat the aspects of continuing governmental fragmen-
tation, ambivalence and incrementalism.[63]

To be effective, metropolitan planning must be compre-
hensive so that it can provide a forum for the resolution of
conflicting interests and needs in providing specific urban
services. In short, it is important that the consistent

delivery and performance of many urban services be coordinated
with areawide planning administered by an areawide government.
Metropolitan planning can be the mechanism by which such con-
sistency among functions is achieved. For the principal role
of metropolitan planning is to develop recommendations for
areawide goals for physical development, and to propose plans
for coordinating public and private actions toward attainment
of these goals.[64] Thus metropolitan planning can go a long
way, short of government reorganization toward helping
achieve some of the benefits of areawide performance of
functions affecting physical development.

The effectiveness of metropolitan planning also depends
to a crucial degree on the extent its output is of real use
to governmental policy-makers in the area. Therefore, it is
vital that the metropolitan planning process be integrated
into the decision making process. However, the marriage of
planning with decision-making is political in nature and
thus involves varying degrees of conflict generation. The
management of conflict is a political function of government
and, in general, will vary in extent depending on the
problems, issues, and stakes involved with the outcome. The
foregoing review of the prerequisites of effective planning
administration confirms that the existing fragmented local
government structure hinders the political resolution of the
issues and problems associated with the development of the
different parts of the metropolis. However, the achievement
of an improved system of areawide goal formulation and
coordinated governmental action is likely to be a long
process simply because of the wide variation and conflicting
nature of the planning issues that exist within a metropolis.

Planning Issues in the Metropolis

As stated in the introductory remarks, the central
theme of this research is to critically examine the metro-
politan planning function in relation to its political and

governmental basis. Specifically pointed out in these re-
marks was the fact that substantive problems of the metro-
polis would be elucidated upon when an understanding of
their relationship to the intent of this research is warranted.
Within the current context of describing and evaluating the
influence of metropolitanism on planning and its cousin, the
governmental arrangements needed to effectuate professional
provision of services, it is necessary to summarize the al-
ready alluded to problems and planning issues as they exist
within the metropolitan mosaic. This will now be done with-
in the general framework of the two major jurisdictional
components of the metropolis as used in the preceding dis-
cussions.[65]

   The Central City. Within the central city there are a
number of social problems. These are related to the fact
that the cities have a disproportionately larger number of
people with low incomes, high unemployment, and a low level
of education and skills than do the suburbs. Many of these
people are Negro and suffer from racial discrimination,
higher rates of disease, and a host of other manifestations
of poverty. Among the more serious problems for these low-
income families is housing. Discrimination and a low supply
of decent low-cost housing places many central city
residents in substandard dwellings.[66]

   Compounding the problem of low-cost housing is the
difficult economic problem of matching the growing number of
jobs in the suburbs with the labor force in the city.
According to several analyses, there are many unemployed
city dwellers who possess the necessary skills for jobs
which are available in the suburbs.[67] Unfortunately, many
of these people are low-income Negroes who cannot afford to
live in the suburbs. Furthermore, the cost of commuting
from the city to the suburbs, in terms of money and time,
is beyond the reach of this segment of the labor force.
Therefore, the decentralization of economic activity from

the city to the suburb has largely been a contributing
factor in the rising unemployment of central city residents
and has, in turn, prevented these residents from upgrading
their socio-economic status as regards their living
conditions.[68]

Another problem facing the central city is the financial
condition of the city governments. Metropolitanism has left
the city with a shrinking revenue base. Deteriorating
neighborhoods and fleeing businesses do not produce much tax
money. Complicating the revenue problem is the fact that
the demand for governmental services in the city is growing.
The costs of police, fire, water, sewer, street maintenance
and other public services are much higher in the city than
in the suburbs.[69] Further, the educating of children from
culturally deprived areas requires more effort and money
which places great pressures on central city school systems
to allocate higher expenditures for education. Finally, the
demand for public services in cities is increased by the
concentration of a dependent population which requires a
variety of different welfare programs. Aid from States to
meet revenue needs for these public expenditure demands has
not been forthcoming. A heritage of malapportioned state
legislatures has resulted in the cities receiving less
financial aid from the States than have the suburbs.[70] Re-
cent Federal aid programs have not offset this disparity.
Thus, the cities are facing a mounting fiscal crisis where
the demands for local public services are far greater than
the ability of these cities to pay.

Another set of problems facing the city as a result of
metropolitanism involves the downtown businessman. The same
forces which pushed many downtown businesses to the suburbs
continue to plague those businessmen who remain in the city.
Traffic congestion, lack of parking facilities, and the
presence of slum properties around business establishments
make shopping and other activities in the city relatively

unattractive to the suburbanite who already has the
relatively easy access of suburban shopping centers. The
fact that considerable financial investments have gone into
these establishments causes the downtown merchant to desire
to counteract the forces of metropolitanism which have con-
tributed to his plight.[71]

The problems which beset the city help shape many of
the issues confronting the central city planner. To the ex-
tent that these problems are associated with metropolitaniza-
tion, one can say that many of the planning issues in the
city represent the impact of metropolitanism on the planning
function. Also, the fact that problems in central cities
are different than those in the suburbs would indicate that
the process of metropolitanization has influenced the type
of planning being done in the various parts of the metropolis.

One distinct planning issue which is primarily associated
with central cities has been precipitated by the problems of
the city's poor. Generally speaking, a broad goal of most
planning efforts is to plan and develop a pleasant and well-
ordered environment. Such an objective mandates the central
city planner to combat the problems of the city's poor.
Further, the plight of the poor has generated a need for the
provision of decent housing for a population which is largely
residing in slums.[72] Efforts to deal with this problem have
triggered a number of other planning issues.

In the process of developing various plans for the cities,
planners frequently must evaluate the housing of low-income
people. The procedures for determining what is and what is
not a slum are not clear cut by any means. As such, the
classification of low-income housing is a key issue con-
fronting the professional planner. One reason why it has
become an important issue is that low-income families tend
to be fearful of being moved out of their homes and into
some unknown environment. Some critics have argued that
planners use arbitrary standards when they designate a

neighborhood as a slum.[73] They accuse planners of being
over-zealous in their attempts to rid the city of what is
considered to be poor housing by using biased standards that
overlook certain aspects of the physical and social community
that are highly desirable from the residents' point of view.
This criticism has often been exhibited in conflicts between
the planners and neighborhood residents.

Many planners would agree that the treatment of sub-
standard housing varies depending on the physical condition
of that housing. There is in reality a continuum of housing
conditions which would call for treatment ranging from code
enforcement to redevelopment.[74] Code enforcement has always
been a sticky planning issue. In order to maintain privately
owned low-income housing at a decent level, cities must en-
force minimal standards for housing unit maintenance. The
enforcement of these codes is not always rigorous since
landlords are usually more politically potent than their
tenants. Nevertheless, code enforcement has been a major
avocation of tenants associations and civil rights groups.[75]
As a result, it has become one of the more significant
planning issues associated with low-income housing.

Once a planner has recommended the demolition of certain
low-income housing units, he is faced with the question of
what to do with the people who occupy them. Relocation has
been a difficult issue in planning since the inception of
urban redevelopment. Long periods of time between the
"official" announcement of future demolition and the es-
tablishment of relocation procedures has caused residents to
panic and move to another area of the city.[76] In many cases
this new location is scheduled for later demolition. Even
when displaced residents are willing to let the city re-
locate them, difficulties arise in finding a suitable place
for them to live. The amount of housing available for low-
income Negroes is limited because of the small amount of
rent they can pay and because of housing discrimination.

The alternative of public housing has been criticized on the grounds that it does not satisfy the housing needs of the low-income residents and that it further reinforces segregated housing patterns. Thus, the problems of relocation are difficult ones requiring not just planning expertise, but also the interactions of political decision-making within a governmental context.[77]

Another planning issue in the central city involves decisions on how best to use redeveloped land once the slums have been removed. Because of the shortage of low-cost housing, low-income groups have demanded that planners use the land for homes which they can afford. However, there are other kinds of pressures exerted on planners which tend to tilt the scales against the residents' demands. Aside from public housing, it is difficult to find private developers that can and will produce suitable housing units at a rent that low-income families can afford. Consequently, the only way to provide housing for a poverty budget is through governmental subsidy. In addition, extensive pressures are placed upon the planner by city governments and businessmen to consider some alternative other than low-cost housing. The reasoning behind this is fairly simple: the resolution of the conflict is not. City governments are constantly looking for a way out of their fiscal crises. Property taxes are a major source of city revenues. Public housing pays the city no property taxes and low-cost private housing pays less taxes than other land uses. Furthermore, low-income residents generate considerable costs for public services. Therefore, the luxury high-rise apartment, with its corresponding upper and middle-income inhabitants, is not only a more attractive use from the fiscal point of view as it pays higher property taxes, but it brings those classes of society with larger incomes back to the cities thus helping boost their slumping economies.[78] Cities also favor large business establishments as a replacement for

slum property for much the same revenue-inspired reasons.[79]

The difficulties faced by businesses in the city give rise to another planning issue. Cities can only undertake a limited number of redevelopment projects at one time. The question is which projects should have the highest priority. The business community favors an emphasis on renewal projects that will remove some of their difficulties. Thus, projects which will help relieve congestion, provide parking for customers and remove the blight of the slums are of highest priority to these business groups. As these projects are often the most productive fiscally, the city government will also tend to favor them. Low-income people, on the other hand, would like to see planning policy geared more directly to their housing needs. The end result is that the establishment of priorities among redevelopment schemes becomes an important planning issue.

The Suburbs. The planning issues which are predominant in the suburbs are different from those issues found in the central city. The main problems associated with suburbia generally arise from the desires of suburban residents to maintain the character of their community. As decentralization in the metropolis continues, forces are set in motion which push some suburbs toward the central city end of the city-suburb continuum.[80] Industries and lower income groups are constantly pushing outward from the city. Since they moved out of the city (or a suburb with city characteristics), suburbanites tend to view these pressures as a threat to change their new community into one that resembles the city as a problem. Specifically, many suburbanites do not want Negroes or other low-income groups to live in their community and they wish to avoid the noise, dirt, and congestion which they associate with the central city.

Suburbs also feel a fiscal squeeze similar to that encountered by the city but for slightly different reasons than the city. Rapid population expansion in the newer

suburbs has created a need for extensive capital investment
in school buildings, streets, sewers, and water supply
systems. Further, suburban residents often demand a high
caliber of local public services, particularly in their
schools. Many suburban parents have college ambitions for
their children and place a high value on education. At the
same time they own their own homes and pay property taxes
directly. In general they are not happy about the amount of
taxes they pay and do everything possible to fight attempts
to increase their tax bill. Thus, a high demand for services
and a stubborn reluctance to finance these services through
taxing are major factors behind suburban fiscal problems.[81]

The desire of suburban residents to preserve the
character of their community gives rise to a major kind of
planning issue. Though general agreement on the preservation
concept can be found among the suburbanites, they do not
always agree on specific formulations of this general ob-
jective. In actuality, there are two aspects of the preser-
vation issue which must be considered.[82] One involves the
basic question of what kind of community is being preserved.
This point will normally create conflict over the question
of whether planning policy should attempt to restrict
specific kinds of people and economic activity from settling
in the community. The other aspect involves the determina-
tion of how to apply a restrictive policy to different parts
of the community. The major tool used by planners to im-
plement a preservation policy is zoning, since ordinances are
used by suburbanites as a restrictive policy.[83] Requirements
such as large minimum lot size for houses, or minimum floor
space requirements for housing effectively control the in-
come levels of those people who can move into a community.
Some zoning ordinances have excluded certain land uses such
as trailer parks, multi-family dwellings and heavy industry
in order to preserve the character of the community.

Planning issues are often aimed at resolving fiscal problems. Many suburban communities have been engaged in a fiscal zoning game with a major objective of their planning policies being to attract land uses which will pay more in taxes than they cost in municipal services.[84] Many planners consider fiscal zoning a hindrance to the application of planning principles. However, they recognize that such considerations have become an important part of local planning policy.[85] These fiscal objectives are not always in agreement with a desire to preserve the character of the community. Nevertheless, promotion of light industrial complexes or administrative industrial campuses in the suburbs provide planners and the respective constituencies with a compromise. Additionally, commercial establishments combined with luxury multi-family dwellings can also find favorable acceptance in many suburbs for obvious fiscal reasons.

The suburban-based planner finds himself with a set of development issues which are different from those faced by his colleague in the city, but which have no less potential for conflict. The objectives of preservation and fiscal productivity are not always consistent with one another, nor with the planner's own professional assessment of appropriate planning policy. Additionally, the suburban planner and the central city planner are both faced with difficult problems of application of planning in various parts of the metropolis. The practice of planning principles relies heavily on an understanding of the previously discussed central-city and suburban planning issues. However, when analyzed these issues and the problems of planning administration and practice tend to merge into a group of interrelated philosophical, political and operational factors that have serious ramifications on the formulation and implementation of metropolitan planning policies in relation to the intended outcomes of those policies as regards urban growth and development.

One important aspect is the extent to which a metro-
politan plan should try to be comprehensive, in the sense
of including all aspects of city and suburban activities, or
be concerned with specific aspects of urban living such as
transportation, waste disposal, or schools. Closely
connected is the question of whether the planner should work
for the interests of the general public or those of some
particular segment of it. Although it might be argued that
the comprehensive-specialized and the general-particular
interest issues are separable, in fact they tend to be
associated. One rationale for the general urban planner is
that he can or should take into consideration a far wider
range of subject matter and of social consequences than the
specialized planner can or does. But this is far easier
said than done. Time and again, the general planner may
realize that building a sewer line will do much to direct
suburban growth, while the specialized sewer planner either
does not realize it or does not care. But the specialized
sewer planner can raise a host of real or imagined engineering
problems to which he has answers and the general planner does
not. Unless the general planner can establish a close
working relationship with the mayor or the city council or
can build powerful citizen support, he is likely to be
frustrated by the specialized planner. So he is wise to
establish a working partnership with the specialist.[86]

On both the comprehensive-specialized and the general-par-
ticular interest issues, the problem of the general planner
is more difficult because of a serious lack of objective
criteria, standards, and measures. It is all very well to
say that the general plan must be based upon "sound land use
principles," but this is about equivalent to the old advice,
"in doubt, do what Caesar would have done." Is it sound
land use to establish an industrial district in one location
or not in another, or to permit high-rise apartments in one
district but not in another? There has been much support

for separation of land uses; carried to the extreme, this means very long journeys to work that may be extremely burdensome to lower-income workers who cannot afford their own cars.[87] The general city planner may argue that his land use plan is best, but he often cannot produce any quantitative estimate of the values it produces as compared with any other plan. There is nothing in city planning comparable to the benefit-cost calculations that have become standard in many types of public investments.

Given these situations, the general city planner is often forced to rely on personal judgment, upon assertion rather than upon proof, upon rhetoric or personal persuasion. Frequently he is unable to win sufficient support for his plan or can do so only by use of tactics which are more political than professional. In any case, he often faces a difficult personal situation.

A second major aspect which the general city planner faces is his relationship to the political power structure of his city or suburb. Shall he seek to serve the dominant political figures and forces, helping them to solve their problems as they see them, quite possibly being useful and well-appreciated in the process? Or should he seek to play a more nearly independent role, developing plans which in his professional judgment are in the general public interest, trying or hoping to persuade the political leaders to accept or support such plans? If he works on matters of direct concern to political figures, this is likely to mean work on matters of small size and immediate urgency, while the broader, longer-range general planning issues go by default for simple lack of time and manpower. But general plans may not arouse much interest, unless it is opposition, from political figures. Such plans seem too remote, too general, to be understood and valued.[88]

Banfield and Wilson have emphasized how little political muscle most city planners have, and how little political "sex appeal" a general city plan is likely to have with the whole electorate.[89] On the other hand, a broad-gauge political leader at the urban level (who might or might not be the mayor or a councilman) could well use the city plan as the source of ideas and even of guidance for dealing with current issues as they arise and for initiating new programs. Many planners have sought to keep their offices somewhat aloof from the political machine, fearing, often rightly, that close involvement would leave them no time or opportunity for genuine planning. Kent, on the other hand—speaking, probably, as a practical politician as much as a professor of planning—has emphasized that the planner's chief client is the city council and the mayor, rather than the general public.[90] In any case, the city planner has often found himself in situations where his professional training offered few answers and may have raised some serious obstacles to his accommodation to the political scene or his ability to modify the latter to his needs.

A third major aspect facing planners has been their relationship with the general public. Typically, indeed almost universally, planners have developed land use or other plans to what they considered a final and defensible stage and only then sought public understanding and support.[91] Rarely have they sought to involve the public in the actual development of the plan; possibly because it would have been difficult to interest an uninformed or indifferent citizenry. Planners of suburban developments have rarely sought consultation with land speculators, developers, and merchant builders in land use planning, perhaps because these groups might well have sought to take advantage of anything they learned by consultation with planners. Yet, in the end, the planner's land use plan must run the gauntlet of landowners' criticism, usually without the help of those who might possibly have

supported it if they had been involved in its development.
Relationships with the general public during the planning
process is an issue which many planners have not recognized
as a problem. They have resolved it in terms of their
operations as professional planners without public inter-
ference until the plan was "ready" and often have been dis-
appointed at the public reaction.[92]

The metropolitan planning process could be used, much
more than it typically has been, to emphasize the positive
values that could be created by joint or cooperative action,
as compared with those likely to arise under unguided private
enterprise. Planning has often been used in a more restric-
tive or defensive sense—to limit what could be done, to im-
pede new and nonconforming land uses, to preserve values in
established areas. Its use to emphasize the creation of
positive values would involve a consideration of positive
externalities. In any event, a plan has, or should have,
economic implications greater than are generally realized.
The potentialities of rigorous and dependable economic
analysis for testing alternative plans are great, although
the difficulties are great too. Planners are taking some
initial steps to include economics, law, and other disci-
plines in their planning, and economists and other pro-
fessional groups need to modify and extend their analyses to
cope adequately with central-city and suburban planning
problems.

The Emergence of Metropolitan Planning

Not only has metropolitanism been a determinant of
planning issues in different parts of the metropolis, it has
also created pressures for metropolitan-wide planning policy.
It clearly appears that present planning policy in metropoli-
tan areas is as fragmented as the structure of local govern-
ment. Planning policy is formulated on a municipal basis.
From a development point of view, however, the governmental

units within a metropolitan area are only politically in-
dependent. Physically, socially and economically they are
highly interdependent. When zoning policy is used in some
municipalities to exclude certain kinds of people and land
uses, some other municipal units within the metropolis must
absorb them. It is possible for a single political juris-
diction to attract an industry and zone its residential
areas so that the industry's labor force will have to live
somewhere else. Therefore, the cost of providing services
to low-income workers is exported to another political
jurisdiction with a less restrictive zoning policy. Further,
the industrial development in question might be located
adjacent to a residential section of a neighboring municipality.
In short, provincial planning policy may have repercussions
beyond the political boundaries of the community which es-
tablishes that policy.

Aside from the interrelationships among local planning
policies, there are certain types of developmental projects
and problems that cannot be confined within the borders of
a single municipality. The location of highways and mass
transit lines has a significant influence on the location of
other kinds of land uses and consequently on the growth
patterns within a metropolitan area.[93] The efficient, safe
and economical movement of people and goods within the
metropolis on the highways and mass transit systems must
involve a continuous, comprehensive and coordinated transpor-
tation policy.

From a developmental point of view, the high inter-
dependence among metropolitan communities when taken in com-
bination with the high degree of political independence of
individual municipalities generates conflict and fierce
competition for fiscal resources. The desire of some Negroes
to move out of their ghettoes and the equally strong desire
of suburbanites to prevent the Negroes from achieving their
desires creates another kind of conflict. In addition, two

decades of court cases over the practice of municipalities
zoning out low-income people and undesirable land uses only
reinforces the mounting evidence that the problems of cities
and the preservative planning policies of suburbs are not in
harmony.[94]

Inconsistent planning policies and a provincial approach
to certain kinds of planning projects and issues that require
metropolitan-wide strategies are reinforced by the highly
fragmented governmental structure in our metropolitan areas.
This state of affairs has brought about strong demands from
planners and government officials for metropolitan-wide
planning.[95]   Presently a large number of metropolitan
planning agencies are in existence. As of 1964 a survey
done by the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency indicated
that 150 out of 218 metropolitan areas in the United States
had some form of metropolitan planning activity under way.[96]
If the continued Federal requirements for metropolitan
planning under The Housing and Community Development Act of
1974 are enforced, all metropolitan areas may have some form
of a metropolitan planning agency in the near future.[97]
State governments have been cooperative in allowing local
governments in metropolitan areas to engage in area-wide
planning efforts. Further, by 1972, 40 of the States had
officially delineated statewide systems of substate regional
planning and development districts. Four other States had
made tentative delineations, while the remaining six had
taken no action.[98]

Although there are a large number of metropolitan
planning agencies, they have not been able to establish
metropolitan planning policies which are followed by the
governments comprising the metropolitan areas. Charles Haar
and his associates made the following observation on the
basis of careful analysis of what the existing metropolitan
planning agencies were doing:[99]

> While metropolitan planning has been of value
> in most of these areas, the present agencies
> generally have been severly handicapped by
> small and uncertain budgets, insufficient
> legal power to permit active participation in
> development decisions and lack of clear
> statutory direction.... Although metropolitan
> planning agencies may wish to perform functions
> keyed to managing regional development, neither
> their funds nor existing statutory prescriptions
> have encouraged many of them to depart from
> population studies, economic analyses, and
> residential, commercial, and industrial land
> use planning.

From Haar's report is is clear that metropolitan planning
has not been an effective force in shaping metropolitan
planning policy.

There are a variety of reasons for why effective metro-
politan planning is not forthcoming. Ironically the very
forces that have created a demand for areawide planning
constrain its effectiveness. Local governments within the
metropolis have differing objectives. Hence a truly
effective regional planning policy would somehow have to
iron out the conflicts which arise because of inconsistent
planning goals. The fiscal pressures that produce policies
aimed at maximizing revenues and exporting the costs of land
uses, the housing and physical location of low-income groups
and the question of where to put those urban activities that
generate congestion, noise and dirt, are among the most con-
flict-laden issues which beset metropolitan planning.

Apart from the issues of conflict within metropolitan
areas, a strong American belief in the virtues of localism
also acts as a constraint on metropolitan planning. Robert
Wood has argued that the wide-spread belief in small govern-
ment and small society has discouraged regional governmental
institutions and has strengthened the fragmented structure
of local government in metropolitan areas.[100] Preferences
for small places and small government have been expressed in
discussions bearing on legislation that would require

regional planning as a prerequisite for Federal grants. The
following opinion was expressed by a representative of a
New Jersey citizens' group:[101]

> Local government closest to the people, the
> bulwark of American freedom, will automatically
> be eliminated by regional planning agencies,
> whose scope of power goes beyond government
> power, absorbing even those of the private
> sector.... The question is not whether there
> shall be planning, but who shall do the
> planning. At the municipal level it is con-
> trolled by the citizens; at the county level,
> the people become less important; at the State
> or Federal level, people are totally unimpor-
> tant and become masses of humanity to be
> shifted about or pushed together in clusters
> for the sake of planners playing God.

Successful metropolitan planning would have to overcome
provincial planning policy that is rooted in individual
municipal goals and a preference for localism. For this
reason an effective metropolitan planning agency needs to be
tied to a potent political base. This base would have to be
a government that is responsive to local needs and attitudes.
Such a base is difficult to conceptualize, much less find.
Outside of a very few metropolitan areas there are no
regional governments in the United States.[102] Single counties
cover some metropolitan areas but in time the boundaries of
such areas will be pushed outward. Furthermore, county
governments are weak structurally.[103] Many of them have no
executive head and have a multiplicity of elected administra-
tive officials. In addition, there are very weak links be-
tween the county and its municipalities.

Thus, a county or multi-county planning agency is really
not tied to an effective political system. Some regional
planning agencies are forming using the council of govern-
ments plan (COG).[104] Under this arrangement the planning
agency is not tied to any one political jurisdiction but
rather is composed of a governing body consisting of
representatives from each of the major governments included
in the region. The Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG)

in the San Francisco Bay area has an arrangement of this type. The East-West Gateway Coordinating Council in the St. Louis area is another example.[105] The major difficulty with the council of governments scheme is that its members still must ultimately answer to local constituencies who have very definate stakes in localism.[106] In short, such a planning agency can only make metropolitan-wide policy that does not interfere with local planning objectives. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) has noted that regional councils are successful when the problems they attempt to solve are non-controversial, when their solutions are not damaging in any way to any member of the council, when the execution of a policy does not require implementation by any local governments, and when the action required costs little or nothing in terms of additional tax revenues.[107] Unfortunately, these conditions are rarely present in the formulation of meaningful metropolitan-wide policy.

Even with the stimulus of Federal programs, future metropolitan planning is likely to remain ineffective. This is not to say that research and a clear analysis of the metropolitan implications of local policies has not been and will not be useful. Indeed such activities are very much needed. But in the absence of finding a means to deal with those constraints on metropolitan planning which have been enumerated, comprehensive metropolitan planning policy is not likely to be forthcoming.

Metropolitan Planning Functions

Experience with metropolitan planning is relatively new and varied, making it difficult to generalize on the activities embraced in the planning function as currently performed. Moreover, as distinguished from other urban functions, which commonly are handled by a general purpose government, metropolitan planning is most often performed by a single purpose special district. This is because there

are few metropolitan general purpose governments, and it has
not been feasible or desirable to attach the comprehensive
planning function to any of the metropolitan single purpose
districts performing line functions of government, such as
sewer and water districts or port authorities.[108]

A common activity of the metropolitan planning agency
is to prepare a comprehensive plan for the area and to
coordinate plans of local units within its geographical
boundaries. Many existing planning agencies are still in
the process of preparing plans. Usually coordination of
local plans consists only of the metropolitan agency's
effort to keep itself informed of local plans and projects
and to inform localities of instances where local plans do
not conform with the metropolitan agency's comprehensive
plan. Few have the authority of mandatory review of local
plans. Other responsibilities of metropolitan planning
agencies are; for example, development of cooperative
techniques among local governments for solution of metro-
politan problems; preparation for local governments of
standards for zoning ,building, and subdivision control
ordinances and other planning regulations; and contracting
with other governments to provide specialized planning
services.[109]

A major concern of professional planners now is a
definition of the metropolitan planning function, and de-
lineation of the relationship between metropolitan planning
and local planning in urban areas. The existence of two
governmental agencies with the function of providing planning
service in the same geographical area causes conflict of
jurisdiction unless their separate roles can be clearly de-
fined. A step toward defining metropolitan planning was
taken by the American Institute of Planners (AIP) in a back-
ground paper on The Emergence of Metropolitan Planning pre-
pared by the Planning Policy Committee of the AIP, "distilled
from actual metropolitan planning experience." The AIP

committee statement suggested that long-term policies for
metropolitan planning agencies be as follows:[110]

>.The metropolitan planning agency should seek
>the development of a unified plan for land
>use, density and design, the provision and
>correlation of public facilities, services
>and utilities, and the preservation of open
>space and wise use of natural resources.
>It should strive to coordinate local planning,
>both public and private, with planning at the
>metropolitan level; similarly, the metropolitan
>plan should be coordinated with state and
>national plans—particularly those affecting
>transportation, public facilities and natural
>resource programs and functions that are
>metropolitan in scope. To this purpose, there
>should be a legal requirement that the agency
>review the content, conformity or compatibility
>of all proposals affecting the metropolitan
>area.

To carry out metropolitan planning policies, the AIP
committee suggested four basic functions to be performed by
the metropolitan planning agency: research—to provide the
data needed for preparing the comprehensive plan; planning—
to prepare the comprehensive area plan; cooperation and
coordination—in regard to the objectives, proposals and
plans at various levels of governmental units affected; and,
advice and assistance—to other planning agencies and local
governmental and nongovernmental organizations, including
establishing standards for planning regulations and en-
couraging local units to adopt and properly administer
them.[111]

Recognizing the existence of governmental agencies al-
ready providing services on an areawide basis, and the need
for involving planning closely in their operations, the AIP
group said:[112]

>The metropolitan planning agency should seek
>to establish especially close relationships
>with other institutions concerned with metro-
>politanwide development such as water supply
>and development authorities, mass transporta-
>tion agencies, special districts, highway
>departments, park and recreation agencies and

air pollution control bodies. Efforts should
be made to participate in the decision-making
processes of such agencies as a major means
of accomplishing areawide development goals.

The metropolitan planning agency, according to the AIP,
should develop a comprehensive plan for the entire population
area, yet within that area numerous municipalities will con-
tinue to develop their own comprehensive plans. The AIP
recognized the possible conflict by saying that the metro-
politan agency must "coordinate local planning, both public
and private, with planning at the metropolitan level." For
this purpose, the AIP said that the metropolitan planning
law should require that the metropolitan planning body re-
view the content, conformity or compatibility of all pro-
posals affecting the metropolitan area. It seems likely
that these proposals would include such measures of municipal
planning as the local comprehensive plan and zoning and sub-
division controls. The AIP made clear that the metropolitan
body's review power is only the power to be heard, not the
power to approve or reject. On these vital matters, there-
fore, the AIP suggested that ultimate power to heed or ignore
the recommendations of the metropolitan planning agency
would be in the hands of the locality, and thus in matters
of conflict, local planning would take precedence over metro-
politan planning.

Powers given to the metropolitan planning body in the
AIP statement might, as a practical matter, enable the
agency to act so as to keep conflicts with local planning
bodies to a minimum and still influence areawide development.
First, the metropolitan planning body is urged to seek to
establish close liaison with governmental agencies performing
areawide line functions and to try to participate in their
decision-making processes. Presumably, the propriety and
value of such close ties would be recognized by local
agencies. Second, the agency's extensive powers to prepare
plans, conduct research and educational activities, and

advise and assist local planning bodies, including the suggestion of standards, would be expected to have a persuasive educational effect on local governmental units and their planning bodies.

In the final analysis, however, if it came to an issue of one planning jurisdiction's recommendation taking precedence over the other, the recommendation of the local planning body would prevail under the terms of the working statement of the AIP. The AIP statement thus leaves the function of guiding areawide development to the localities and whatever influence can be brought to bear on them through the educational and other indirect means of the metropolitan planning body.

The intercommunity spillover of benefits from sound planning, and social costs resulting from lack of it, are widely recognized by layman and specialists alike.[113] Indeed, the economic foundation of an entire metropolitan area depends upon the way in which land is zoned and used in each of its component communities. Because local government relies so heavily upon the property tax, the chief obstacle to sound areawide planning is the competition among municipalities for land use developments which are productive of large tax revenues. The rationale of many zoning ordinances lies in fiscal competition rather than desirable spatial arrangement of uses. This kind of policy is self-defeating, however, and results in a reduction of total economic resources for the area as a whole.

Within the planning framework provided for the area by plans for generalized land use, transportation networks, major utility lines, public capital facilities, open space and urban renewal, planning by individual communities creates benefits which are largely confined within their boundaries. Local land use limitations, as long as they conform to areawide requirements, create basically local benefits. Similarly, since there is little spillover among communities

of benefit from local playgrounds and parks, fire stations, police precinct stations, distributional water and sewer lines, etc., planning of capital facilities for these functions creates essentially local benefits. The placement of shopping areas, industrial neighborhoods and residences of varying density, as well as public facilities, near the borders of a municipality does affect its neighbors, however. It is therefore necessary for local and areawide planning to be closely coordinated.[114]

Thus, the more direct and less complicated the organizational ties between government officials and metropolitan planning agencies, the greater are the possibilities for more effective planning. The ideal solution would be the creation of a unit of general government which has jurisdiction over the entire metropolitan area. While the governmental functions assigned to such a unit would vary from place to place, the metropolitan planning agency should be an arm of that unit of government. However, as discussed in the following paragraphs, various socio-economic factors, political interests and even the principles and practice of planning have prevented the creation of regional governments that would encourage a more effective and economical approach to the assignment and delivery of local and areawide planning services.

Metropolitan Planning and Government Reorganization*

The institution of planning which is largely concerned with land use, transportation and other closely related matters has been regarded by some as the focal point of

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*A more detailed analysis of the various alternative approaches to the reorganization of local governments is contained in Chapter III. The concept of government reform is introduced here to more fully develop the various aspects of metropolitanization on the planning function. The theory and some recommendations pertaining to government reform proposals are more fully developed in Chapter V.

metropolitan government reform.[115] This is not surprising
when one considers that metropolitan planning was virtually
a Federally sheltered workshop—formerly subsidized through
the urban planning assistance program and guaranteed through
the provisions of the A-95 review process—and that a
significant majority of all recent reform proposals and their
supportive literature have been Federally inspired or
financed.[116] In fact, however, the actual record of these
planning agencies demonstrates little relevance to most day-
to-day land development decisions, but much to agency sur-
vival and to obtaining Federal grants. Few metropolises
have political bodies capable of adopting areawide plans and
having them supersede local plans.

Local planning is largely isolated from metropolitan
planning as well as from the executive and regulatory agencies
of local government itself.[117] As a result of this manifes-
tation, most of planning has been relegated to an advisory
role for the benefit of local officials and regulators and as
such is not a self-implementing process. This gap between
planning and action is the result of several institutional
factors.

As previously alluded to, the methodology of planning,
particularly at the metropolitan level, is very general in
nature and at times highly abstract. Procedurally, it deals
with issues at a macro level that encompass a long time-
horizon, all of which is somewhat irrelevant to the public
official, whose interests seldom stretch beyond his own
terms of office.[118] Moreover, the technically and goal-
oriented procedures for deriving a rational policy model of
regional planning, which proceeds from a systematic analysis
of variables through the use of inductive logic to the
evaluation and recommendation of plan alternatives via de-
ductive reasoning, are inconsistent with the more pragmatic
and intuitive approach of political decision makers. For
them, the relevant fact is public opinion, not computer

simulation models or decision-theoretic approaches to plan formulation and evaluation. Thus, as planning has become more professionalized, it has also become less participatory at the metropolitan level.[119]

Metropolitan planning, as it is currently practiced, bears little direct relationship to the land development process. It is regarded as advisory to any capital improvements program and the regulatory process and the advice is often too general to help with specific functional decisions. Because operating agencies are better equipped in both money and manpower to do their own planning, the metropolitan planning agency's role is frequently reduced to that of reviewer rather than initiator of policy.[120] In the absence of a comprehensive metropolitan capital improvements program, implementation is left to the very agencies least receptive to comprehensive planning.

Planning at most levels, and particularly at that of the metropolis, aims at "end-state" plans without establishing a related set of programs covering resource allocation or scheduling. Thus, plans become simply documents of public persuasion rather than policies and strategies aimed at achieving results like those used in military organizations. The planners' acceptance of the separation of planning from implementation has seriously limited the potential of the planning process in formulating development policies. If "development" were the end of the process, then planning would be the means of producing the public decisions needed to guide both public and private sectors to that state—not merely a delineation of what that state should be. As it exists now, metropolitan planning is not an integral part of a development strategy. It is not surprising, then, that local officials are not heavy users of metropolitan planning products. This stems partly from the factors discussed above, as well as from the nature of their legal duties, the demands on their time from an almost endless variety of competing

official and private interests, and the schedule on which
decisions about the budget, agency programs,or grant
applications, for example, must be made.

Perhaps the most important institutional characteristic
of metropolitan planning remains the dominance of functional
over comprehensive planning. Functional agencies, supported
by clientele groups who come to their aid at budget time,
generally have greater financial resources than the "compre-
hensive" agency.[121] They can implement their plans and show
results within the terms of office of elected officials.
Further, they use the compelling logic that they are service
agencies just doing their job. Metropolitan planning, there-
fore, often consists of worrying about the unanticipated
consequences for development of all the successful operations
of these functional agencies. The initiative is in the
hands of the operating agencies and the developers, not of
the planners.

The public and private institutions of metropolitan
development serve some interests better than others. The
various actors in the development process, special economic
interests and citizen groups alike, use those institutions
available to them to achieve their objectives. Should they
be unable to get what they want through existing institutions,
they may become interested in institutional changes; i.e.;
metropolitan reform. However, writing constitutions and re-
organizing governments is basically an exercise of sub-
dividing the spoils; in any metropolitan reform some interests
will do better than others. The classic types of government
reform, consolidation of local governments and federation,
have more implications for the way in which development
decisions are made than for the actual results on the ground.
If representative systems are restructured, for instance,
then regional capital improvements may better serve some
groups now short-changed in the capital budgets of localities.
If a metropolitan government has planning powers and can

assert the integrity of its plan against the claims of
localities, then a substantial change may occur in the
location of regional facilities, employment centers, and
large-scale developments. Metropolitan government produces
a new political rationality in development policy simply be-
cause political interests are weighed differently on the
metropolitan scale. This does not mean that development
policy will be better, only that it will be different.

Whatever is done about general government organization,
other metropolitan reforms are needed to change development
patterns, reforms that deal directly with the institutions
presently governing land development. While general reform
may be a prerequisite for some specific reforms, it is not
for all. Reform or modification of market institutions is
more likely to result from specialized State or Federal
legislation than from self-improvement projects. The
pluralism of land development institutions in the political
economy suggests that any substantial reform will require a
long-term strategic effort designed to alter the way in which
planning institutions function. In this context, the effort
to establish metropolitan government is important as an
alternative means of authoritatively arriving at objectives
for a metropolitan planning and development policy.

Comprehensive or radical reform of planning and develop-
ment institutions, however logical, is not likely, given the
facts of institutional life. A strategy of reform, there-
fore, must be devised and pursued which exerts leverage on
those institutions with the greatest existing or potential
impact on the character of regional development—land assembly,
financing of development, capital improvements, the metro-
politan fiscal system ,land-use regulation, and planning.

Planning, Reform and Metropolitics

Since private interests tend to align their organizations
with the official system, there is little point in having a

metropolitan-wide planning organization if there is no metropolitan governmental body associated with the organization which can be influenced. This arrangement substantially restricts the kinds of conflicts that can arise over planning issues and structures the way in which conflicts can, or cannot, be resolved. Moreover, since private development, regardless of its regional impact, has to occur in some jurisdiction, a developer is going to be far more concerned with local development policies than with any regional policies unless they affect his ability to develop. For example, as long as local zoning authorities do not require conformity to regional plans and policies, such plans will not become prominent factors in the decision making patterns of private development.[122]

Some interest groups — lenders, utilities, general contractors, and commercial or office building developers— do operate on a metropolitan scale and have to think in regional economic terms. Along with their major industrial and commercial clientele, they constitute an important political base for efforts aimed at metropolitan reform which will help them achieve their development objectives. Their objectives, however, rarely require sweeping or radical metropolitan government reform; in fact, a general reform movement might introduce a political system that would be indifferent to their interests or promote other development priorities than a convention center or downtown renewal. Since political cohesion among these groups depends upon specific attainable projects that achieve profitable economic consequences, their form of developmental politics tends to limit any organizational reform to the least change necessary that will effectuate their narrow objectives.

Where a clear political monopoly is not possible, a favorite, but less significant strategy, is the creation of a technical monopoly. Frequently a ploy of bureaucracies, the technical monopoly involves the constructive domination

of the information or accrediting power required to make
policy or be a participant in a land development activity.
Historically, the most effective technical monopolies have
been those utilized by the highway agencies, in which they
control both the collection of data and the subsequent
analysis of that data, on which the heart of decision making
rests.[123]   From the private standpoint, realtor associations
establish the conditions of membership and the regulations
of business practice and provide almost all of the informa-
tion available on current markets through their membership
services in the form of computerized multiple listings.

To the extent that political and/or technical monopolies
have been established, metropolitan reform is made that much
more difficult. Even with charter reform and the establish-
ment of independent state agencies, little effective control
over development is achieved, because local charters cannot
supersede state law. Having control of the local councils
can help , but if the planning agency is an instrumentality
of the State, then full control over the local legislative
delegation also may be necessary. Such control can be ob-
tained only after a long period of political activity in-
volving compromise on the composition of election tickets,
and subsequently, on the substance of legislation in order
to ensure its enactment.[124]

Reform groups are more often agreed on the need for
planning than on what a plan should contain. Opposing
alliances can effectively delay action, giving the advantage
to those who have fared well under the existing system. What
normally emerges are mechanistic responses to organic problems.
New procedures or organizations may be agreed to, but they
are likely to involve no basic institutional change in the
development process. Few have the patience, the time, or
the vital interest to endure the long struggle involved in
institutional change. The culture of reform is heavily
oriented to organizational change, with little appreciation

of the fact that organizations may be only a facade behind which basic institutions remain intact.[125]

At both the metropolitan and local levels, the inertia of the status quo is an important fact in the politics of planning. The first law of any institution is survival; its ultimate skills are defensive.[126] Officials of local jurisdictions stoutly resist government reforms that would abolish their offices or materially alter their ways of doing business; their opposition and that of their constituencies have frequently been decisive.

When change cannot be prevented, one defensive strategy is to foster harmless change. The council of governments (COG) is, in part, such a strategy for local governments, allowing the appearance of dealing with metropolitan problems through a consortium of existing local governments. While COGs have been appraised as an evolutionary step toward full-blown metropolitan reform, most of the evidence leads to a different conclusion. Once established, COGs create bureaucracies that value survival above action and concentrate on "safe" issues on which intergovernmental concensus is likely. Most conflicts involving COGs result from jurisdictional violations, or moves by the COG to preempt activities currently performed by other agencies. Though COGs usually lose, they may come out of the fight with face-saving "cooperative" agreements with the agencies.[127]

The reality of institutional change is, therefore, that in both local and metropolitan settings it normally occurs through slight, incremental adjustments over very long periods of time. Normally these changes only dull the thrust of reform and force the reformers to consent to "give it time to see if it will work." These modest changes, however, do set in motion new forces that often render the initial reform plan obsolete and require additional incremental adjustment.

The experiences of some metropolitan reforms, such as the creation of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council and the New York Urban Development Corporation, suggest that major reforms may have to be imposed by state legislatures, where a whole different set of political influences prevail.[128] Apparently, only by leaving the metropolitan arena does it seem possible to put together the proper coalitions required for substantial institutional changes in metropolitan government. This theme was recently echoed in the State-legislated consolidation of the city of Indianapolis and Marion County. However, it is important to note that the UNIGOV consolidation was achieved in a manner most different from other reform approaches and emulating these procedures could, if not carefully handled, result in more bifurcation within the metropolitan area rather than improved efficiency and economy.[129]

The Failure of Reform. The value patterns of those who support plans for metropolitan supergovernments are not dominant in the community, and the leaders of reform movements characteristically do not give adequate consideration to other values. The result is that proposals for reorganization of metropolitan governments are rarely implemented.

Upper-income business and professional people tend to favor metropolitan government for a number of reasons. Some are concerned lest, as a result of the middle-class exodus to the suburbs, the political control of the central city be lost to low-income groups with little education. Some believe that governmental consolidation will reduce costs through economies of scale.[130] Low-income groups tend to oppose metropolitan government for a number of reasons. Negroes fear that such a government will weaken their political power, since Negroes are concentrated in the core city of the metropolitan area. Labor leaders sometimes oppose consolidation because business leaders favor it, and they assume it must therefore be to the advantage of the

business leaders. Labor leaders or working-class people
sometimes also oppose metropolitan plans because they in-
clude proposals for a short ballot and professional leader-
ship. That is, they fear a loss of access and representation.
Some low-income persons fear that metropolitan government
would be more expensive to them; that it would result in more
rapid tax increases than would otherwise be the case. The
question of whether or not to have metropolitan government
is not, therefore, simply a question of efficiency and
economy, as the reformers of a generation ago believed, but
is a political question closely related to costs and to per-
ceived abilities to influence policy making.[131]

Suburban officeholders and the entrenched bureaucracy
of the area will almost always oppose metropolitan govern-
ment, and reformers seldom pay enough attention to their
values and interests or show any imagination in compromising
with them. They fail to recognize that representativeness
of government and access to the decision makers are likely to
be more important considerations for the typical citizen
than are questions of efficiency and economy. Rarely does a
metropolitan-area study even mention these two psychologically
important factors, to say nothing of adequately providing
for them. In addition, it is a well known fact that the
central cities of larger metropolitan areas outside the
South are dominated by the Democratic Party and that suburban
areas are generally Republican. The merging of central
cities and fringe areas into a single metropolitan entity
would almost certainly decrease predictability for local
party leaders. In most areas it would also benefit the
Republican Party.[132]

Negro voters, in particular, have been suspicious of
proposals for metropolitan-wide government. In Cleveland,
on ten issues submitted to referendum between 1933 and 1959,
the level of support for metropolitan government steadily
declined, but it declined much more rapidly among Negro

voters than it did among whites. The percentage of positive
vote among Negroes declined from 79 percent in 1933 to 29
percent in 1959, while the vote in predominantly white wards
declined from 69 percent to 46 percent.[133]

Reformers tend to forget that the symbols—efficiency,
improved economy and the like—that they respond to with
enthusiasm ring no bells for the average citizen. It is the
latter, of course, which dominates the decision when a pro-
posal is put to a popular referendum. The ordinary citizen
is characteristically apathetic. If water flows from the tap
and the toilet flushes today, he is not likely to ask whether
it will do so tomorrow.

Yet, votes against metropolitan government are not
necessarily votes in favor of the status quo. They may be
votes in favor of gradual or incremental change rather than
revolutionary change.[134]

Communicating a concept of future needs on a realistic
basis is seldom done by groups organized to support metro-
politan governmental reorganization. Furthermore, the
reformers tend to put their arguments on a theoretical plane,
discussing efficiency without translating it into concrete
terms as it affects the ordinary citizen. Examples are
often not made meaningful. It makes little impression on the
suburbanite to be told that his police force is amateurish
and inferior if, in practice, his community has little crime
and the state police take care of the arterial highway traffic.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
conducted a study of 18 efforts at structural reform in order
to identify the issues, and techniques that were relevant to
the outcome of the reform effort.[135] For the most part, the
proponents of reform stressed the inadequacy and weakness of
the existing local governmental structures, the need for urban
services in the outlying areas, and the need to achieve an
areawide allocation of the costs of metropolitan services
through areawide taxes. On the other hand, the opponents

stressed the tendency to allocate costs more heavily to
suburban areas, the "drastic" nature of the proposals, the
possibility of lost jobs for local officials and employees,
and the dilution of minority group influence in the central
city.

The commission found that certain techniques appeared
to contribute to the success of the reform movement in the
eight out of 18 areas in which it succeeded. These techniques
were state legislative support, careful staff preparation
for the campaign, and the extensive use of public hearings
on the proposed changes. Where the reform efforts failed,
a variety of factors appeared to contribute strongly: (1) the
failure of the general public to perceive a crisis, (2) the
fear of higher taxes, (3) low voter participation, (4) com-
petition with other reform approaches and efforts, and (5)
overemphasis on efficiency and "good government" and under-
emphasis on the political realities and interests of the
metropolis. This final point has been emphasized by other
scholars as well. In speaking of metropolitan reform
efforts, Charles Adrian remarked that "a more serious cause
of rejection centered in their almost total lack of concern
with the political process."[136]

It is clear that the real trick in metropolitan govern-
ment reform is to create the kind of political environment
in which a strategic combination of reforms can be used in
concert to make possible the planning and management of
metropolitanization. Unfortunately, the present pluralistic
system is a live and going concern with each element serving
well some established interest. A constituency for officials
who do not yet exist is needed to counter the political and
technical monopolies that now determine development policy
and subsequently the delivery of urban services. It will be
necessary to use the available political processes; ironically,
the best hope for government reforms lies with the States,
aided by Federal backing.[137]

Conclusion

Metropolitanism has greatly influenced the practice of
planning at the local level. The conduct of metropolitan
planning today is being shaped more by the metropolitan con-
text than by any other single factor. The planner's heritage,
municipal administrative arrangements, and intergovernmental
programs all must adapt to the pressing nature of the metro-
polis. This chapter has attempted to analyze what this con-
text means to the urban planning function. Because of the
distribution of population and economic activity within the
metropolis, different problems and planning issues occur in
different parts of the metropolitan areas. Secondly, metro-
politanism has generated certain pressures for areawide
planning. However, metropolitan planning has been less than
successful. Planning in the metropolis is as fragmented as
the structure of governments existing in metropolitan areas.
The planner working within a given jurisdiction tends to
address himself primarily to the needs of that jurisdiction.
As a result, problems have arisen in the decision making
process at the areawide as well as the local levels; in the
continuing economic and social disparities between the central
city and the suburbs; in the efficient and economical
delivery of those public goods and services requiring area-
wide treatment; and in the development of a genuine sense of
metropolitan identity or citizenship.

A growing recognition of the lack of success with metro-
politan planning has prompted further actions to change.
Separated as it is from public decision making, the planning
process has proven ineffectual in terms of the implementation
of regional plans. As civic leaders are becoming more aware
of the limitations on areawide action stemming from the
municipality of local governments and the difficulty of
carrying out regional plans, they are grasping for suitable
alternative governmental arrangements involving reform or
reorganization. One such approach discussed herein was the

council of governments, which was seen as a device for
putting metropolitan planning into the local government main-
stream. However, COGs and other alternative approaches to
government reorganization have been only partially successful
as mechanisms for achieving a metropolitan-wide government
that could support and promote a metropolitan planning agency.
A more detailed analysis and discussion of this conclusion
will be presented in the following chapter. Suffice it to
say at this point, however, that despite the wealth of
evidence in support of the need for alternative government
reorganization strategies that would encourage a sound
theory of metropolitan planning, most of the reform strategies
to date are lacking as regards acceptability to the public
who ultimately must vote on their adoption or rejection.
Thus, if the functions of areawide planning are to ever be
achieved in a manner consistent with the suggested evaluation
criteria of economy, equity, accountability and effectiveness,
they must have an areawide basis of government that is
politically amenable to the clients which they serve.

While this chapter has pinpointed the influence of
metropolitanization on the urban planning process, it has at
the same time, sharpened the focus of this research to the
fact that there is much more to the context of planning in
the metropolis than a recognition of the forces of central-
ization and decentralization and the need for an areawide
government that can cope with the social, economic and
physical disparities that result from their interactions.
Planning is a service function of government and as such must
rely on a myriad of political factors that are inherent with
the federation form of governmental decision making. As will
be analyzed in Chapter IV, political involvement in the
planning process encompasses a diverse environment of actors,
resources, and stakes which generally interact through a
mixed strategy of inputs, processes and outcomes thereby
resulting in the generation of conflict. When the effective

delivery of urban services results in differences regarding
who should get what, how they should get it and when should
they receive it, the issues and stakes involved create
tensions in the allocation system which can only be com-
promised by elected public officials through the political
process; not through the decision-theoretic approaches and
cost-effectiveness techniques frequently employed by planners.
Unfortunately, this chapter has revealed (not for the first
time) that the practice of planning is nearly void of the
realities of metropolitics.

The remoteness and isolation of the conduct of planning
from the political process and the tendency for political
officials to make decisions without being informed as to the
consequences relative to areawide planning considerations
constitute reciprocal failures. When this happens, the
actual setting of policies and plan-making takes place
through a network of people not identified as planners and
of agencies not identified as planning agencies. For example,
while the planning agency is busily engaged in regional land
use and transportation plans that will encompass all facits
of development up to the year 2000, developers, public util-
ities, land managers, and others are busily rubbing elbows
with key political officials who, on a daily basis, will
make decisions that actually determine the near-term physical
development of the area in ways that may be wholly inconsis-
tent with the directions being mapped by the planners. In
short, the implementation of "plans" generally fails because
the planner does not give proper nor sufficient consideration
to political "realities," because the politician does not
give adequate weight to areawide planning considerations that
involve a long period of time, or some combination of the
two.

The exact relationship that improved integration of
political and metropolitan planning functions implies between
planners and decision makers is apparently a situation

composed of trade-offs. The more closely the planner is involved in the actual policy decision, the more likely his thinking and work will be sensitive to the political dimensions and constraints of an issue, perhaps at the expense of technical planning considerations. On the other hand, elegance, rationality, and technical rigor may be bought at the expense of relevance or usefulness to the person with responsibility for decision making. In part, this tension is reflected in the continuing professional discussion of the "how to" of planning. Debates concerning planning philosophy continue, for example, between advocates of a rational theory of planning and those who favor the concept of incrementalism.[138] Further, there still persists a dichotomy as regards schools of thought on the relative importance of planning products as opposed to the planning process.[139] Current notions concerning planning borrow heavily from modern techniques of decision-theory and systems analysis. To borrow a phrase from a recent work: "It is perhaps a humbler theory than the bold, rational, and logical order conceived of by Walker, but it is also more attuned to political realities by deemphasizing the rational ideal in an effort to achieve implementation."[140]

Ideally and practically (as is being emphasized here), the planning process implies the need for an ability to engage those groups whose interests are affected. Simply taking "account" of those interests with broad and often vague lists of goals and objectives in the front of the Comprehensive Plan is insufficient. Due process and equity require that the access of affected constituencies to the decision making process be maintained. To the planner this implies a knowledge and understanding of the formal and informal participants who are likely to become involved in the management and resolution of a planning issue. In the end, the performance and capability of planning will be measured against the stakes associated with the outcome of a particular

issue; the test is one of political relevance and feasibility, not administrative effectiveness and economy.

Notes

1. See, for example, Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City: Past and Present (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1960), pp. 323-328; and, Arthur Gallion and Simon Eisner, The Urban Pattern (2nd ed.; Princeton N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1963), pp. 40-78.

2. Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 15-116; James Q. Wilson, ed., The Metropolitan Enigma (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 144-169, passim; C. A. Doxiadus, "A City for Human Development: Eighteen Hypotheses," EKISTICS, vol. 35, no. 209 (April 1973), pp. 177-187; and John Bollens and Henry Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics and Economic Life (New York, 1965), pp. 34-180, passim.

3. The census definition of urban areas is used here. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Statistics for Federal Regions, States, and Metropolitan Areas," Reprinted from Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1973, pp. 26-28. Although the major objective of the Bureau of the Census in delineating urbanized areas was to provide a better separation of urban and rural population in the vicinity of the larger cities, individual urbanized areas have proved to be useful statistical areas. They correspond to areas called "conurbations" in some other countries. An urbanized area contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more in 1970, as well as the surrounding closely settled incorporated places and unincorporated areas that meet the criteria listed below. An urbanized area may be thought of as divided into the central city or cities, and the remainder of the area, known as the urban fringe. All persons residing in an urbanized area are included in the urban population. In addition to its central city or cities, an urbanized area also contains the following types of contiguous areas, which together constitute its urban fringe:
    1) Incorporated places with 2,500 inhabitants or more.
    2) Incorporated places with less than 2,500 inhabitants, provided each has a closely settled area of 100 housing units or more.
    3) Towns, in the New England states, townships in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and counties elsewhere which are classified as urban.

4) Enumeration districts in unincorporated territory with a population density of 1,000 inhabitants or more per square mile. (The areas of large nonresidential tracts devoted to such urban land uses as railroad yards, factories, and cemeteries were excluded in computing the population density of an enumeration district.)

5) Other enumeration districts in unincorporated territory with lower population density provided they served one of the following purposes:

    a. To eliminate enclaves.

    b. To close indentations in the urbanized areas of 1 mile or less across the open end, and

    c. To link outlying enumeration districts of qualifying density that were no more than 1½ miles from the main body of the urbanized area.

4. Two terms to be used in this discussion need definitions: "Metropolitan Areas" and "Central City". The Bureau of the Census defines its Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as an area containing at least one city or contiguous cities with a population of 50,000 or greater. Also included in the area is the county surrounding the city(s) and any contiguous counties which are "metropolitan in character". The city(s) with the population of 50,000 or more are the central cities. The definition of an individual SMSA involves two considerations: First, a city or cities of specified population to constitute the central city and to identify the county in which it is located as the central county; and, second, economic and social relationships with contiguous counties which are metropolitan in character, so that the periphery of the specific metropolitan area may be determined. SMSAs may cross state lines.

Population criteria—The criteria for population relate to a city or cities of specified size according to the 1970 Census of Population.

1) Each standard metropolitan statistical area must include at least:

    a. One city with 50,000 inhabitants or more, or

    b. Two cities having contiguous boundaries and constituting, for general economic and social purposes, a single community with a combined population of at least 50,000, the smaller of which must have a population of at least 15,000.

2) If each of two or more adjacent counties has a city of 50,000 inhabitants or more (or twin cities under 1b) and the cities are within 20 miles of each other (city limits to city limits), they are to be included in the same area unless there is definite evidence that the two cities are not economically and socially integrated.

Criteria of metropolitan character—The criteria of metropolitan character relate primarily to the attributes of the contiguous county as a place of work or as a home for a concentration of nonagricultural workers.

3) At least 75 percent of the labor force of the county must be in the nonagricultural labor force.

4) In addition to criterion 3, the county must meet at least one of the following conditions:

a. It must have 50 percent or more of its population living in contiguous minor civil divisions with a density of at least 150 persons per square mile, in an unbroken chain of minor civil divisions with such density radiating from a central city in the area.

b. The number of nonagricultural workers employed in the county must equal at least 10 percent of the number of nonagricultural workers employed in the county containing the largest city in the area, or the county must be the place of employment of 10,000 nonagricultural workers.

c. The nonagricultural labor force living in the county must equal at least 10 percent of the number in the nonagricultural labor force living in the county containing the largest city in the area, or the county must be the place of residence of a nonagricultural labor force of 10,000.

5) In New England, the city and town are administratively more important than the county, and data are compiled locally for such minor civil divisions. Here, towns and cities are the units used in defining standard metropolitan statistical areas. In New England, because smaller units are used and more restricted areas result, a population density criterion of at least 100 persons per square mile is used as the measure of metropolitan character.

5. Michael Danielson, "Differentiation, Segregation, and Political Fragmentation in the American Metropolis," in Governance and Population: The Governmental Implications of Population Change, ed. A. E. K. Nash (Washington: Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972), pp. 145-147.

6. John Meyer, John Kain, and Martin Wohl, The Urban Transportation Problem (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 25-56.

7. Robert Wood, Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958); and, Marion Clawson, Suburban Land Conversion in the United States (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 33-46.

8. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future,
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    Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 34.

9. James Zuiches and Glen Fuguitt, "Residential Preferences:
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    politan Areas" (Prepared for the 138th Meeting of the
    American Association for the Advancement of Science,
    Philadelphia, 1971).

10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Metropolitan Areas", p. 34.

11. Danielson, "Differentiation", p. 160.

12. Anthony Downs, Urban Problems and Prospects (Chicago:
    Markham Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 75-114.

13. Danielson, "Differentiation", p. 161.

14. Walter S. Mosberg, "A Blue Collar Town Fears Urban Re-
    newal Perils Its Way of Life," Wall Street Journal
    (November 2, 1970), p. 10.

15. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and
    Housing: 1970, General Demographic Trends for Metropoli-
    tan Areas, 1960 to 1970, Final Report PHC(2) (Washington:
    U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), passim.

16. Commission on Population Growth, American Future, p. 29.

17. Ibid., p. 30.

18. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports,
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19. Derived from statistics compiled by the U.S. Bureau of
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20. James Simmons, "Changing Residence in the City", in
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    Michael Greenberg (New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Urban
    Policy Research, 1974), pp. 64-75.

21. Commission on Population Growth, American Future, p. 30.

22. F. Stuart Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning (2nd ed.;
    Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 22-35.

23. Dorothy K. Newman, "The Decentralization of Jobs",
    Monthly Labor Review (May 1967), pp. 7-13.

24. For an in-depth discussion of this recent dilemma that is plaguing the deteriorating fiscal structures of our nation's downtowns, see National Commission on Urban Problems, <u>Building the American City</u> (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 355-361.

25. Edgar Hoover and Raymond Vernon, <u>Anatomy of a Metropolis</u> (New York: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1962), pp. 86-93.

26. Chapin, <u>Planning</u>, pp. 383-386.

27. Raymond Vernon, <u>The Changing Economic Function of the Central City</u> (New York: Committee on Economic Development, 1959), pp. 16-22.

28. Two important works cover in tremendous detail the locational patterns and spatial distribution of industrial manufacturing: Raymond Vernon, <u>The Changing Economic Function of the Central City</u>; and, John F. Kain, "The Distribution and Movement of Jobs and Industry", in <u>The Metropolitan Enigma</u>, ed. James Q. Wilson (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 1-43.

29. Vernon, <u>Central City</u>, pp. 35-42.

30. Chapin, <u>Planning</u>, pp. 388-412.

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50. ACIR, Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities, p. 53.

51.   Downs, Opening Up, p. 18.

52.   Robert Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and
      Public Policy (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971),
      pp. 122-123.

53.   ACIR, Regional Decision Making, p. 2; and, Allen D.
      Manvel, "Metropolitan Growth and Governmental Fragmenta-
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      American Future, Governance and Population: The Govern-
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      U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 180-181.

54.   ACIR, Regional Decision Making, p. 4.

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      Local Government (New York: The Committee, 1966), pp.
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56.   Ibid., p. 44.

57.   U.S. National Commission on Urban Problems, Building
      the American City, pp. 323-345.

58.   Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations,
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      III, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System
      (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974),
      pp. 11-15. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, The Challenge.)

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60.   ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 12-13.

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62.   Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR),
      Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide
      (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963),
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65.   Because the following discussion is only a summary of
      key planning issues within the metropolis, the interested
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66.   See, National Commission on Urban Problems, American City, pp. 40-48, 66-75 and especially 76-93.

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69.   Alan K. Campbell and Seymour Sacks, Metropolitan America: Fiscal Patterns and Governmental Systems (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1967), pp. 1-68, passim.

70.   Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 1-29.

71.   Clawson, Suburban Land, pp. 41-42.

72.   National Commission on Urban Problems, American City, p. 18.

73.   Jacobs, The Death, pp.56-74; Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962), pp. 92-110; and, National Commission on Urban Problems, American City, pp. 255-266.

74.   Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Building Codes: A Program for Intergovernmental Reform (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 11-16.

75.   Ibid., p. 15.   Code enforcement can have another dimension too.   It can be used as a threat to the people living in substandard housing when these people cannot afford to move to another location.   See also, Daniel Mandelker and Roger Montgomery, eds., Housing in America: Problems and Perspectives (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1973), pp. 491-507.

76.   Mandelker and Montgomery, Housing, pp. 29-35.

77.   National Commission on Urban Problems, American City, pp. 152-154.

78.   Downs, Opening Up, pp. 72-76.

79. For an excellent discussion of some of the detrimental aspects of this idea, see Clawson, Suburban Land, pp. 71-77.

80. All of the municipalities within a given metropolitan area could be classified along a continuum. The central city with its characteristic socio-economic attributes and problems would be at one end of the continuum. At the other end would be the residential suburbs which contain a homogeneous population of middle- and upper-income people. In between would be a range of different kinds of communities with varying degrees and assorted mixes of these attributes found at each end of the continuum. In the discussion to follow the term "suburbia" refers to those municipalities which are at the other end of the continuum from the central city. This distinction appears to be a useful way to illustrate that different kinds of communities have different planning problems and issues.

81. Downs, Opening Up, pp. 46-60, 68-83.

82. Anthony Downs, "Alternative Forms of Future Urban Growth in the United States," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 36, no. 1 (January 1970), pp. 3-11.

83. Richard Babcock, The Zoning Game: Municipal Practices and Policies (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), pp. 62-86, passim; Daniel R. Mandelker, The Zoning Dilemma (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1971), pp. 31-50; and John Delafons, Land Use Controls in the United States (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1969), pp. 19-26.

84. Seymour Sacks and Alan Campbell, "The Fiscal Zoning Game," Municipal Finance, vol. 35, no. 4 (1964), pp. 140-149.

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86. John W. Reps, "The Future of American Planning—Requiem or Renascence?" Land Use Controls, vol. 1, No. 2 (1967), pp. 1-16; and American Society of Planning Officials, Problems of Zoning and Land Use Regulation, Research Report No. 2, National Commission on Urban Problems (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 12-15.

87. Ira S. Lowry, "A Model of Metropolis," in Models of Employment and Residential Location, ed. Franklin J. James (New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1974), pp. 217-224.

88. Francine F. Rabinovitz, <u>City Politics and Planning</u> (New York: Atherton Press, 1970), pp. 14-30.

89. Edward Banfield and James Wilson, <u>City Politics</u> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 123-145.

90. T. J. Kent, <u>The Urban General Plan</u> (San Francisco: Chandler Publ. Co., 1964), pp. 22-25. Kent served as councilman and then mayor of Berkeley, California for several years.

91. Royce Hanson, "Land Development and Metropolitan Reform", in <u>Reform as Reorganization</u>, ed. Lowdon Wingo (Washington: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1974), pp. 18-22.

92. For an extended discussion, see David Graven, "Citizen Participation in Regional Planning," <u>Special Report 142</u> (Washington: Highway Research Board, 1973), pp. 52-61.

93. Charles Chudd, "The Continuing Comprehensive Planning Process: Its Role in Regional Decision Making," an unpublished paper, December 1, 1967.

94. Michael Heyman, "Innovative Land Regulation and Comprehensive Planning," in <u>The New Zoning: Legal, Administrative, and Economic Concepts and Techniques</u>, eds. Norman Marcus and Marilyn W. Groves (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970), pp. 60-65.

95. ACIR, <u>Local and Areawide</u>, pp. 213-235; and supra, n. 65.

96. U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, <u>1964 National Survey of Metropolitan Planning</u> (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 56.

97. A rather lengthy but good discussion of the Federal government as founder and preeminent actor with regard to the advent and continuance of areawide planning is contained in volume I of the recent ACIR study. See also, <u>Revenue Sharing and the Planning Process</u>, Report of the Subcommittee on the Planning Process and Urban Development of the Advisory Committee to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1974), pp. 16-36.

98. ACIR, <u>Regional Decision Making</u>, pp. 222-223.

99. <u>The Effectiveness of Metropolitan Planning</u>, prepared in cooperation with Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate by The Joint Center for Urban Studies

of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, June 30, 1964 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 1, 42.

100. Robert C. Wood, "Republics in Miniature," in Thomas R. Dye and Brett W. Hawkins, Politics in the Metropolis (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 326-334.

101. A statement prepared by Mrs. Jean Tierney of the Tri-State Conference on Community Problems, Ridgewood, New Jersey, for the Hearings before the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, Committee of Government Operations, United States Senate, 88th Cong., 1st sess. (Pursuant to Senate Resolution 45, 88th Cong.), May 21, 22 and 23, 1963 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 171-173.

102. For statistical evidence, see ACIR, Regional Decision Making, Table III-4, p. 74.

103. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 44-45.

104. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, pp. 50-52, 106-110.

105. Ibid., p. 67.

106. A complete discussion of the many strengths and weaknesses of COGs and other approaches for reorganizing local governments will be presented in Chapter III. The use of the COG at this point is purely for the purpose of discussing the lack of a sound political basis as regards the emergence of metropolitan planning.

107. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, pp. 8-10.

108. For a more detailed discussion of this point, see Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), The Problem of Special Districts in American Government (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 51-72.

109. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Governmental Functions and Processes: Local and Area-wide, vol. IV, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp.63-67. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, Governmental Functions.)

110. American Institute of Planners Planning Policy Committee, "The Emergence of Metropolitan Planning," A Background Paper (Chicago, September 1965), p. 6.

111. Ibid., pp. 7-9.

112. Ibid., p. 6.

113. ACIR, Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities, pp. 56-59.

114. ACIR, Performance of Urban Functions, pp. 222-224.

115. A large body of literature exists which depicts the nature and extent of metropolitan planning as the spearhead of metropolitan government reform. In essence, these writings make two major points: a new approach to planning on a metropolitan level is needed which will tie planning to a political base; and, reformed metropolitan government is essential if the "new" metropolitan planning is to have a legal and financial basis upon which to effectuate decision making for those constituencies represented within the metropolis. See, for example, David C. Ranney, Planning and Politics in the Metropolis (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publ. Co., 1969), pp. 161-168, and Melvin B. Mogulof, Governing Metropolitan Areas (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1971), pp. 48-66.

116. The best example of this phenomenon is evidenced by the various reports of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations which began in the mid-1950's and was just recently highlighted with the publication of a six-volume report covering the heritage and recent issues central to substate government reform measures. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System, vols. I-VI (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, 1974 and 1975).

117. AIP, "The Emergence," pp. 16-17.

118. Thad Beyle and George Lathrop, "Planning and Politics: On Grounds of Incompatibility?" in Planning and Politics: Uneasy Partnership, eds. Thad Beyle and George Lathrop (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1970), pp. 1-12.

119. Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 31, no. 4 (November 1965), pp. 331-338; Donald F. Mazziotti, "The Underlying Assumptions of Advocacy Planning: Pluralism and Reform," Journal of the American Institute

of Planners, vol. 40, no. 1 (January 1974), pp. 38-47; and Melvin M. Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 29, no. 4 (November 1963), pp. 232-241.

120. Hansen, "Land Development," pp. 17-18.

121. National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing, pp. 7-12.

122. Howard W. Hallman, "Neighborhood Government Can Work," Planning, vol. 40, no. 6 (July 1974), pp. 16-19.

123. Manvel, "Metropolitan Growth," pp. 198-200.

124. Hansen, "Land Development," p. 32.

125. Donald Canty, "Metropolity," City (March/April 1972), pp. 34-37.

126. Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, Power & Poverty: Theory and Practice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 43-46, 56-58.

127. Charles Adrian and Charles Press, Governing Urban America (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 278-279; Lineberry and Sharkansky, Urban Politics, pp. 143-144; ACIR, Regional Decision Making, pp. 109-110; and Joseph F. Zimmerman, "Metropolitan Reform in the U.S.: An Overview," Public Administration Review (September/October 1970), p. 542.

128. Ted Kolderie, "Governance In the Twin Cities Area of Minnesota," in Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Regional Governance: Promise and Performance, vol. II, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 125-138; and, James A. Clapp, New Towns and Urban Policy (New York; Dunellen Publ. Co., Inc., 1971), pp. 186-187.

129. ACIR, Promise and Performance, pp. 72-73.

130. Robert L. Bish, The Public Economy of Metropolitan Areas (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publ. Co., 1971), pp. 155-156.

131. Adrian and Press, Governing Urban America, p. 281.

132. Lineberry and Sharkansky, Urban Politics, p. 140.

133. Richard Watson and John Romani, "Metropolitan Government for Metropolitan Cleveland," Midwest Journal of Political Science, vol. 5 (November 1961), pp. 365-390.

134. Charles Adrian, "Public Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision Making," in Issues in State and Local Government, ed. Russell Maddox (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1965), pp. 311-321.

135. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Metropolitan America: Challenge To Federalism (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 107-109.

136. Adrian, "Public Attitudes," p. 320.

137. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Governmental Structure, Organization and Planning in Metropolitan Areas (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 8-10.

138. See, for example, Ruth Prince Mack, Planning on Uncertainty (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1971), pp. 61-134; and David Braybrooke and Charles Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision: Policy Evaluation as a Social Process (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 56-152, passim.

139. Richard Bolan, "Emerging Views of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 33, no. 4 (July 1967), pp. 233-245; Darwin Stuart, "Rational Urban Planning: Problems and Prospects," Urban Affairs Quarterly, vol. 5, no. 2 (December 1969), pp. 151-182; and Anthony Catanese, "Plan? or Process?" Planning, vol. 40, no. 5 (June 1974), pp. 14-16.

140. National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing, p. 14.

CHAPTER III

PLANNING AND THE STRUCTURE OF URBAN GOVERNMENT

The previous chapter stressed the influence of metropolitanism on the planning function. However, the metropolitan environment is only one critical aspect of the planning ideology as currently practiced. Two other variables — government and politics — are highly interrelated with metropolitanism when the formulation of planning policy is examined in depth. Therefore, any suggestions or proposals related to metropolitan reform must attempt to identify and explain the potential impact this mixed relationship has on the performance of the planning function in developing relevant policies and programs.

The governmental context of the planning function is a major variable in the formulation of planning policy. The term "variable" is used here in a literal sense; variations in the governmental context of planning are as extensive as the number of planning agencies in existence. Every planning agency has a unique mixture of governmental programs and responsibilities. These have a significant impact on how the planner is able to serve his community. The particular mixture for a given planning agency should affect planning policy formulation in two ways: first, it affects the kinds of planning issues which arise; second, it will partially determine the route which the planner must take to communicate his ideas to the political decision makers. The formal lines of communication between the planner and the decision makers will most probably impact the way in which planning decisions are made.

However, there is more to the governmental context of the planning function than the administrative structure of public planning at the local level. Planners must work within a context of law, policy and financial assistance which comes from the State and Federal governments. These intergovernmental relationships have become so complex that it is no longer desirable for students of government to speak of "levels" of government in the sense that each separate "level" operates independently of the others. Inter- dependence now characterizes our Federal system of govern- ment. At one time students of American government referred to the Federal system as a "layer cake" where each level of government had its own duties and functions. Whatever term is used, it is a fact that the administration and financing of local governmental services are significantly affected by policies of the State and Federal governments. Since the planning agency is a part of the municipal government, the interrelationships between local, State, and Federal governments are a very important aspect of planning's governmental context.

Municipal Governments and Planning Agencies

Numerous formal institutional arrangements define the administrative structure of local planning agencies. These arrangements have largely evolved out of the development of the structure of municipalities. State governments originally established municipalities to provide services needed by people living in urban communities[1]. When municipalities were few in number and small in size, the functions which states allowed them to perform were limited. In some instances local public services were initially provided by semi-independent agencies which gradually merged with the municipality. Planning was introduced to municipal government as an agency which was legally

separated from regular municipal government. However, unlike most other municipal functions, a majority of the planning agencies have retained this semi-independent status. Only the field of education has managed to remain more aloof from municipal government than planning. Coincidentally, in both the education and planning fields, there has been a running debate over the question of the desirability of independence from municipal government. In fact, many of the arguments used by planners to justify an independent or semi-independent status are identical to those used by advocates of continued independence for education. Over the years, some of the arguments have become a little more sophisticated but, for the most part, the question of the best organization for the planning function has consisted of a repetition of old arguments. Thus, consideration must be given to these arguments since the location of planning in the structure of local government is an important aspect of planning's governmental context.

A knowledge of the debate is useful in pointing up some of the questions raised by planning agency organization. However, the debate has not been useful in determining whether an independent planning agency will affect the performance of the planning function differently from an agency which is integrated with the municipal government. Instead most of the debate has been based upon the personal experience of planners, rather than on determining the type of impact each arrangement has had on planning practice. Even with little data on the planning organization question it is apparent that the structural arrangements for the planning function are of significance. The formal linkages between the planner and the policy makers may affect both the kinds of issues which come to the planner's attention as well as his ability to communicate with other governmental officials in resolving those issues. Therefore, some knowledge of alternative structural arrangements, the arguments that have

been made for and against these arrangements, and some speculations concerning their impact on the performance of the planning function are important to an understanding of the formulation of planning policy.

Structures of Municipal Governments

American municipal government comprises a number of fundamentally different structural types and within each type a seemingly infinite number of variations. The types and variations refer only to the formal decision making roles and responsibilities. If we were to consider the informal structure of government, the number of different types of municipal governments would be almost as great as the number of existing governments. Since there are many different formal arrangements, only the major structural types will be described in general terms.

Mayor-Council Forms. There are two major structural forms of this classic model of local government. One, and perhaps the oldest form of municipal government is the weak mayor-council type. Under this system the council assumes both executive and administrative roles. As portrayed in Figure III-1, the various city departments, such as police and fire, are run directly by the councilmen through a committee system in which there is a separate council committee for each city department. Department heads are sometimes elected directly by the voters. The mayor under this arrangement is only an advisor to both the council and the department heads. Although he is an elected official, he has few if any formal powers. The weak mayor-council government has been widely criticized for its inability to separate administrative and legislative duties and for failure to properly coordinate intergovernmental activities. Consequently, this once popular form of municipal government is today rare.

Figure III-1. Simplified Governmental Structure of a Weak
Mayor-Council City

A more prevalent type of government structure is the
second form of a mayor-council government. Commonly referred
to as the strong mayor-council form, this type of municipal
governmental structure is very common in the large metropoli-
ses of the Northeast. Under this system, both the mayor and
the members of the city council are elected by the voters.
As depicted in Figure III-2, it is the mayor's responsibility
to appoint and/or dismiss all executive officers and
administrators. The various city departments are under his

- - - - Appointment
       Power

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                              │  Electorate  │
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Figure III-2.   Simplified Governmental Structure of a Strong
                Mayor-Council City

control.   Apart from his administrative duties, the mayor can
develop and introduce legislation to the council, and has the
power to veto legislation that the council has enacted.   The
mayor's formal position of central authority and his ability
to provide jobs makes him a powerful political figure in city
government.   Therefore, the role of the city council is
strictly legislative; initiating legislation and enacting it.
In many cities, much of the council's time is spent delibera-
ting on legislation that has been proposed by the mayor and
his executive officers.

   The Commission Form.   Another type of municipal govern-
ment, the commission, is found most often in smaller cities.
This scheme was developed in Texas in the early 1900's.[2]   Its
popularity increased as municipal reformers supported it as a
more efficient form of government based upon sound business
principles.   Like the weak mayor-council, the commission
government combines the legislative and executive duties as
indicated in Figure III-3.   A number of directly elected
commissioners acting as both executive department heads and
councilmen provide governmental leadership.   One of the

commissioners generally is elected as mayor, department head, and president of the council. The other commissioners are elected at-large and their departmental role such as fire, police, etc., is decided by the commissioners after the election. Each commissioner is responsible for the appointment or dismissal of those executive officers and administrators within his department. The commissioners propose, enact, and execute all legislation and policy. In terms of formal power, the mayor has no more control over the municipal government than any other commissioner. The mayor's only duties beyond those of the other commissioners involve the coordination of policy. However, informal practices sometimes gives the mayor additional powers which may allow him to function as a strong executive. The other commissioners then become his staff. Since the commissioners control both the legislative and executive activities, power tends to be more centralized under the commission government than under any other type.
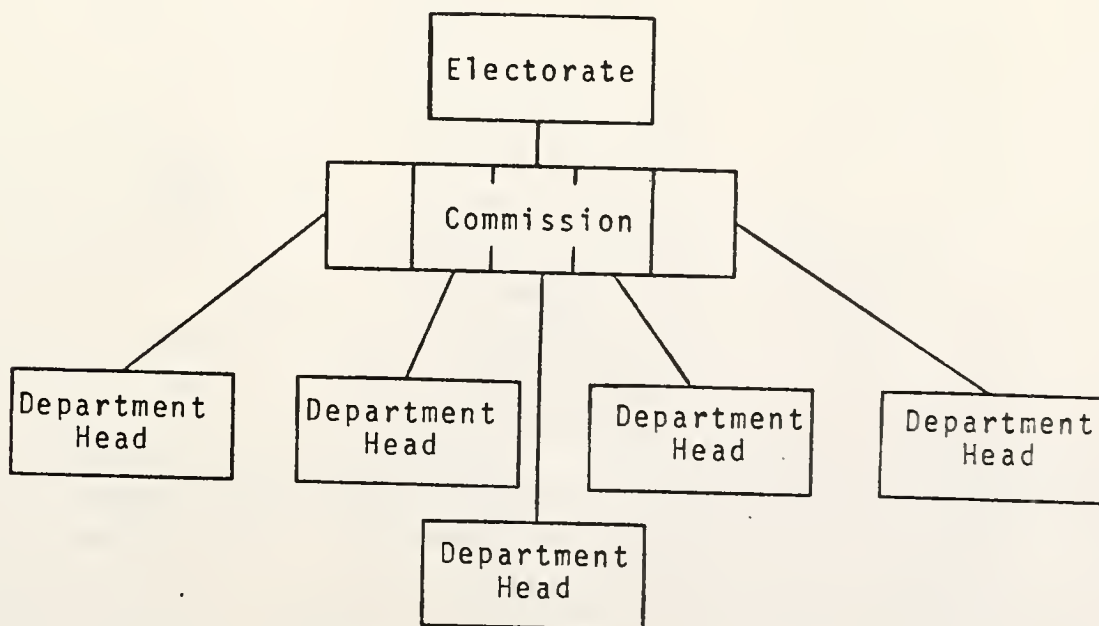
Figure III-3. The Commission Government Structure

It has been stated that commission cities suffer from a
lack of administrative integration.[3] Separately elected
department heads and the lack of a real central authority
provide no focus for coordination. Vote trading and depart-
mental autonomy characterize this style of government. The
commission form lost much of its appeal to reformers, most of
whom have switched their allegiance to the council-manager
form. Only forty cities with populations over 50,000 plus a
few smaller cities, mostly in the South, now use this form of
municipal government.[4]

Council-Manager Form. The newest major type of munici-
pal organization is the council-manager governmental structure.
The development of this form of government was begun by a
group of municipal reformers in 1911. The greatest growth
in the adoption of the council-manager plan came during a
fifteen year period after World War II when approximately
seventy-five municipalities a year adopted the concept.[5] In
recent years, this boom has cooled off considerably. The
major assumption made by advocates of council-manager govern-
ment is that cities should be run like industries. However,
the objective of city government is not to make profits, but
rather to serve the public. The developers of the council-
manager plan thought this objective could best be accomplished
by centralizing the authority for the formulation of policy
in the hands of a small council. All administrative
responsibility would be assumed by a professional administra-
tor chosen by the elected council members. Thus, as shown
in Figure III-4, the typical council-manager government
consists of an elected council which handles all legislative
matters and has ultimate control over the executive function.
A professional city manager is appointed by the council and
serves at the council's "pleasure". His duties are to take
charge of all administrative matters.

As the theory of the council-manager plan was originally
designed, the manager was expected to administer but remain
aloof from policy-making. However, it has become evident
in recent years, that the manager is inevitably involved in
controversial issues. Further, the manager's role in policy-
making is heightened when the council depends upon his
professional judgement. Typically, council members are part-
time officials not professionally trained in proposing and
enacting policy decisions. Although most managers do become
involved in politically charged issues, they have different
styles in the way in which they handle their efforts. Some
shape the basic policies of their governments and then enlist
the aid of interest groups, private citizens and councilmen
in their efforts. Others work through official channels. In
some instances, the manager has taken an aggressive role by
forming key political alliances to prevent his dismissal and
then acted more like a strong mayor. Whatever the style,
defining the success of a manager lies largely with their
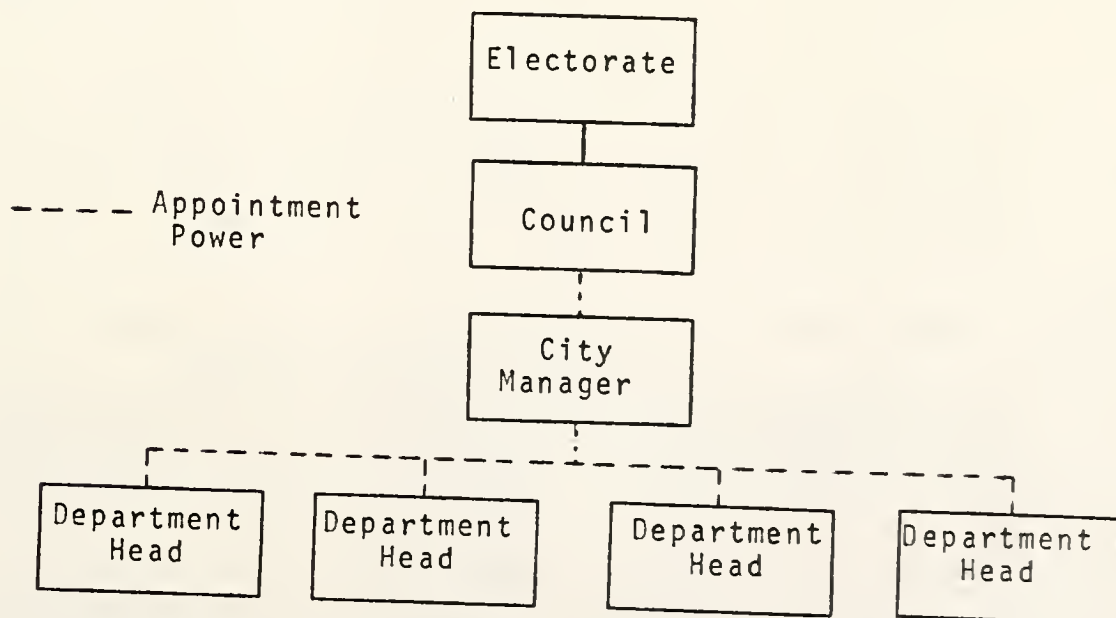
Figure III-4. The Council-Manager Government Structure

ability to remain in office as opposed to their capabilities
for guiding innovations through local politics.

The Significance of Governmental Structures

Political scientists and planners have argued the merits
of the various forms of municipal government for years.
Their discussions range from allegations about the democratic
future of government dominated by political accountability
to the businesslike efficiency that should be expected from
governments dominated by professional management. As noted
previously, most individual municipalities have a general
mix of these two extremal elements in their governmental
structures. This obviously makes comparison of these
structures difficult at best. One form of assessment used
by Lineberry and Fowler was to compare local governments by
showing traits that have been reformed in the name of pro-
fessional management with those that had not.[6] According to
their assessment, unreformed cities have mayor-council
governments, ward selection of councilmen and partisan
balloting for mayor and council. Reformed cities have
either the manager-council or commission form of government,
at-large selection of councilmen and nonpartisan balloting.
Table III-1 shows the relative proportions of each of these
institutional forms for reformed and unreformed cities with
populations over 50,000.

Table III-1. The Incidence of Government Forms in 200 Cities
With Over 50,000 Population

Institutional Form	Reformed		Unreformed	
Form of government	Manager	45%	Mayor-Council	43%
	Commission	12		
Type of election	Nonpartisan	67	Partisan	33
Type of constituency	At-large	63	Ward or mixed*	37

*Includes combinations of ward and at-large elections.

Table III-2 indicates the extent to which the three major forms of municipal government are used by cities in various population categories. The mayor-council form is still the most widely used. However, if one analyzes the data over a period of time, it becomes apparent that the council-manager form is enjoying more adoptions every year and commands a greater percentage of the total each year. For example, in 1967, 51.8 percent of those cities with populations over 5,000 had a mayor-council form of government as compared to a 40.3 percent figure for the council-manager form. When compared with the data in Table III-2, one can see that the mayor-council form has dropped 4.7 percent in terms of total representation (9.1 percent relative negative change), while the council-manager form has increased 2.5 percent in relation to the total (6.2 percent relative positive change). Much of this increase can be traced to the decline of the commission form which is clearly the least popular of the three. As the history of the reform movement indicates, a certain logic can be found in a move from the commission to the council-manager form where the commission form has proven to be unsatisfactory to the city.

Table III-2 reveals one other item of interest. The popularity of the mayor-council and council-manager forms appears to be closely related to the cities concerned. Mayor-council government is most often used in the very large (over 500,000) population group and in the very small (5,000 to 10,000) group. On the other hand, council-manager government is popular in the middle-range cities (10,000 to 500,000) and enjoys a majority in the 25,000 to 250,000 range. There are two separate explanations for the predominance of mayor-council governments in small and large cities. In small cities, there is seldom enough revenue or work to justify the employment of a professional manager. Both the mayor and the council in towns under 10,000 are typically part-time officials. In the largest cities there is too much social

Table III-2. Form of Government in Cities over 5000
Population

Population Group (thousands)	Total Number of Cities in Table	Mayor-Council		Com-mission		Council-Manager	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Over 1,000	6	6	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
500 to 1,000	20	15	75.0	0	0.0	5	25.0
250 to 500	30	13	43.3	3	10.0	14	46.7
100 to 250	98	38	38.8	9	9.2	51	52.0
50 to 100	255	94	36.9	13	5.1	143	56.1
25 to 50	520	170	32.7	39	7.5	293	56.3
10 to 25	1357	586	43.2	57	4.2	613	45.2
5 to 10	1548	883	57.0	45	2.9	522	33.7
All cities over 5	3834	1805	47.1	166	4.3	1641	42.8

Source: International City Management Association, Municipal
Yearbook, 1974 (Chicago, 1974). Computed from data in Table
3, Introductory section.

and economic heterogeneity to escape severe political tensions.
Strong factions are highly unlikely to accept a professional
manager who would take the key offices out of their reach.

There is also a regional bias in the selection of
municipal government structures. Mayor-council cities domi-
nate in the Northeast; council-manager cities are found most
often in the South and West; and, the Middle West shows a
mixture of the two forms.[7] These differences appear to re-
flect the ages and social compositions of cities in each
region. Northeastern cities are most likely to be old and

have a European ethnic. The mayor-council structure has the
legitimacy of tradition, and competition among distinct
European ethnic communities (now joined by politically
sophisticated black enclaves) tends to ensure that politics
remains in local government. By way of contrast, Southern
and Western cities have reached substantial size only in the
last two generations. They faced an obvious need for re-
examining their government structures because of population
increases that occurred when the reformers were working
hardest for council-manager (or commission) forms. Moreover,
in the South the ethnic tradition favors professional
management due to the whites using the professional manager
as a device by which to isolate local government from the
potential black vote.

Several scholars have examined the influence of formal
structures of government on the nature of politics and the
formulation of public policies.[8] To some extent, the various
measures of the impact of governmental structures on the types
of policies that become enacted infer that structure has
something to do with these scores. However, it is also
possible that such findings reflect more the influence of the
peculiar social or economic environment than the happenstance
of a coexistence of structural features with particular
policies. Local political life may affect the choice of
government structures, or features of the social or economic
environment may be powerful enough to affect a certain kind
of policy, as well as to affect the development of govern-
ment structure. Until such time when the ambiguities of
these analyses are resolved, no factual evidence can be
cited that shows a causal relationship between the type of
governmental structure and the nature of the formulation of
public policy.

Planning Agency Organizations

All local planning agencies are attached in one way or another to one of the major types of municipal governments. Thus, even two planning agencies with similar internal organization may operate quite differently due to differences in the structure of their respective municipal governments. Planning agency organizations vary considerably beyond their relationship to the structure of municipal government. Three major types of planning agency organizations will be discussed here: the semi-independent planning commission, the executive staff agency, and the legislative staff agency.

Planning made its debut as a semi-independent function and in most communities the semi-independent planning agency still persists, set apart from the rest of the municipal agencies. A planning commission composed of "respected" citizens in the community is appointed by the members of the council, or by one of the department heads; by the mayor with the consent of the council; or the commissioners may be elected. The important point is that in almost all cases a commissioner is very difficult to remove from office once he is appointed. Generally, formal charges are required for dismissal. Further, commission members are usually appointed for overlapping terms. The theory behind these appointment procedures is to insulate the commission members from the influence of the politicians. In the early days of planning commissions, the commissioners themselves did the planning. However, in most cities of any size today, the planning commission has at a minimum one full-time planning director who is a trained professional. In more and more cities, the planning director has been given a staff of professionals. Under the purest form of the semi-independent planning agency, the commissioners hire the planning director and his staff. Under those circumstances, the professional planner's client is the planning commission. The professionals make their recommendations to the commissioners who in turn decide what

recommendations will be made to the council and/or to the chief executive. Therefore, under the semi-independent planning agency, the route from the professional planner's recommendation to plan effectuation involves three steps. First, based on their research and know-how, the professionals make recommendations to the commission. Then the commissioners make recommendations to the executive and legislative bodies, based on the planners' recommendations and their own citizen's point of view. Finally, the council decides whether to pass legislation or the executive decices what to do about the recommendations of the planning commission. Political and administrative considerations come into the decision at this point. In some instances, the professional-client relationship is more complex since professional planners serve both the planning commission and the executive or council at the pleasure of the elected officials.

One reason the semi-independent planning agency and its commission is still predominate is that this type of organization is imbedded in many state statutes. In order for municipalities to engage in planning, they must have permission from the state government in the form of enabling legislation. In 1928, the United States Department of Commerce published a Standard City Planning Enabling Act which, with a few modifications, is still the model used by states for their planning enabling statues.[9] Other model acts were the basis for a number of additional state statutes.[10] These early models of state planning legislation greatly influenced the organization of the planning function. The model acts favored the semi-independent lay planning commission to administer the planning function.

A few states have made their legislation more flexible. Others have granted "home rule" charters to their own liking. In some municipalities, the planning function has become a regular executive agency. With this arrangement, the planner is hired directly by the mayor or city manager and

is responsible to him. The planning commission usually continues to perform in an advisory role. The planner and his staff become either a special agency in the office of the mayor or manager or a regular administrative department. Thus, when the planning function is established as an executive agency, the planners' client is the mayor or city manager. Recommendations made by the planner go directly to the chief executive who in turn may make legislative proposals to the council or act directly on his planners' advice.

Alternatively planning can be a legislative staff agency where the planners' primary client is the city council. A pure form of this type of organization would eliminate the citizens planning commission. The professional planning staff would serve the council directly. However, as in the case of the executive staff agency, the citizens planning commission can continue to play an important role.[11] The planners in such an agency still advise the commission but are hired by and are more closely aligned with the city council.

It should be stressed that the planning agency organizations described above are only general types. Wide variations of agency organization within each of these types exist. Further, when we consider the different varieties of municipal governmental structures, it becomes clear that there is a broad range of possible planning agency organizational schemes. The debate over which scheme is best focuses on who the professional planners' client should be — the citizens planning commission, the executive, or the city council?

The participants in this debate usually make the assumption that there is an "ideal" type of planning organization which all agencies should conform to. A close examination at the available evidence casts some doubt on this assumption. Therefore, it is likely that none of the

debators will ever be declared the winner. Each debator has based his conclusions on very different perspectives regarding what planning is and what planners ought to be doing. Furthermore, quite different assumptions have been made about the nature of municipal government and communities.[12] These differing perspectives and assumptions are clearly not applicable to all planning agencies. For this reason the arguments used in the debate lack general applicability. The kinds of perspectives and assumptions are outlined as follows:[13]

    1. The planners' objectives — provision of technical information versus the implementation of plans;

    2. The scope of planning subject matter — technical physical considerations versus broader policy formulation;

    3. The relative complexity of the issues with which the planner must deal and the extent to which these issues are interrelated with other municipal government activities;

    4. The formal organization of municipal government itself.

    The proponents of the semi-independent planning agency have several arguments they use in favoring that form of planning organization. Their first argument is that the commission composed of respected citizens in the community will help gain acceptance for the planning function and lend prestige to the proposals of the professionals. The endorsement of the planning commission is also supposed to help gain favorable action from elected officials. Today, planning still lacks acceptance in some municipalities, but in others the "endorsement" function of the planning commission is losing its value as planning becomes more and more accepted.

    A second major argument in favor of the semi-independent planning commission is that planning should be free of "politics." The early proponents of this position were expressing a general distrust for municipal government which grew out of planning's reformist heritage. In addition, an

assumption was made about the scope of planning. These
advocates assumed a very narrow scope for the planning
function. Many planners today recognize that even such
technical problems can involve differences of opinion which
create a need for political settlement. Thus, if one
stressed the need for planning implementation and takes a
broader view of the scope of planning, the "no politics"
argument makes no sense at all.

A closely related argument suggests that while planning
cannot be separated from politics, there are differences be-
tween the kind of decision making that goes on in planning
and that which is conducted in other kinds of municipal
policy. Howard, for example, makes a distinction between
activities which are amenable to "political" action and
those which call for "civic" action.[14] Planning, he argues,
is in the latter category. The objective of planning,
according to Howard's view, is to guide private developmental
decisions which cannot be regulated by the government. Such
guidance is best achieved by "citizen leaders" rather than
by persons who are seeking re-election. Howard's argument
tends to limit the scope of planning to providing technical
and physical advice. To him there is little interrelation-
ship between planning and other municipal activities.
Finally, Howard's argument implies a lack of confidence in
the ability of elected officials to do what the "citizen
leader" can do. Howard's central thesis is that the
acceptance or rejection of planning proposals by government
does not depend on the organization of planning but on the
attitude of the politicians.

Banfield and Tugwell have also argued for the planning
commission on the grounds that planning is a different kind
of function.[15] Unlike Howard, however, they argue that the
scope of planning should be very broad. Politicians, they
argue, are concerned only with matters of immediate practical
interest and thus the planner's role should be to expand the

scope of realistic alternatives for the politician. In sum, the semi-independent planning commission is justified on the grounds that planning is a function which is different from all others and cannot be handled by elected officials. This view may be applicable under the conditions which Tugwell and Banfield specify. Chief among these conditions is the assumption that the planning function should only be engaged in "developmental planning." Another assumption is that politicians will not adopt policies based on futuristic thinking unless they are accepted by a group of "respectable" citizens. These conditions may be present under some circumstances but not under others.

Those who feel that the planning function ought to be administered as an executive staff agency use two kinds of arguments. One consists of attacks on the planning commission and the other of positive statements regarding the logic of planning as an executive staff function. Robert Walker was an early opponent of the semi-independent planning commission.[16] He attributed, from his own observations, that planning was a failure and that this failure of the planning function was mainly due to the performance of the citizens planning commission. He wrote that planning should be as broad as the scope of municipal government, but that planning commissions were concerned almost entirely with zoning admin-istration and similar narrow concerns. Further, he attacked the planning commissions with the assertation that citizens who serve on them are unable to grasp the complexities of planning. Clearly, the competence of a commission to handle the issues which come before it depends on the backgrounds of members and the kinds of things the planning agency is doing. These conditions will vary and so will the relative competence of planning commissions.

A further argument leveled against the semi-independent planning commission is that the endorsement role of the commission is no longer needed. Craig, for example, claims

that planning is now accepted as a municipal function so that
the original requirement of a board of distinguished citizens
to endorse planning is no longer needed.[17]   Walker argues
that commission members have little influence over politi-
cians.[18]   The validity of both of these arguments is based
on the erroneous assumption that communities react to
planning and planning commissions in a uniform manner.   It
seems likely that the critics of the planning commission are
correct in some communities but not in others.

     Positive arguments have been made by a host of planners
and planning theorists in favor of the planning agency as a
part of the municipal executive's staff.   Practically without
exception, proponents of planning as an executive staff
agency view planning in very broad terms.   They also see plan
implementation as an important objective.   Given the assump-
tion that planning involves policy formulation as broad as
the scope of municipal government, the planning function
should be thoroughly integrated with that government.
Furthermore, the implementation of plans and planning policy
should involve the closest possible working relationship
between planners and municipal decision makers.   Fagin, for
example, has advocated the creation of a planning office
which would be in charge of developing the physical master
plan, budgeting, and coordinating all municipal governmental
activities.   He further stipulates that this office would
have to be in the executive branch of municipal government.[19]
If the planner is concerned with the implementation of his
plans and if his planning commission is lacking in influence,
then closer ties with the municipal government would be
desirable.   However, if the planning function has a more
limited scope, and if the members of the planning commission
are politically powerful, arguments for an executive staff
agency become less persuasive.

Those who argue that the planning agency should be on the staff of the municipal legislature have also made a number of special assumptions. Kent, as an example, bases his position on his experience in Berkeley, California.[20] Fundamental to this position is the acceptance of Kent's concept of the "general plan." This dictates that developmental decisions should be based upon a broad set of policy statements concerning the future physical development of the city. Thus, the general plan is meant to be a policy guide to decision makers. It contains no specific proposals but provides only "inspirational" assistance. The city council, in the case of Berkeley, is the policy making body while the city manager serves as an advisor to the council and as executor of its policies. The planner reports directly to the council and is subject to a knowledgeable citizens' planning commission. Thus Kent, who was quite satisfied with the way things were going in his community, concluded that their organization for the planning function is best. However, his conclusion is based on a specific perspective of the nature of planning and the assumption that the city council is the prime initiator of policy in all cities.

It should now be clear as to why there may never be an answer to the question of which planning agency organization is best. The debate over this issue has been based on such a variety of different assumptions that one could conceive of instances where all the debators might be correct. A more useful approach to the question of planning agency organization would perhaps be to analyze the experience of a large number of different kinds of planning agencies. However, comparative studies of this sort are lacking. The Walker study of 35 planning agencies was one of the few efforts to go beyond an individual's experience with a few agencies.

One recent attempt to do a comparative study of the effect of planning institutions on the planning function was a survey conducted by Rabinovitz and Pottinger.[21] A questionnaire was distributed to planning directors and 201 responses were received. Seventy-seven of the respondents were directors of agencies responsible to the chief executive, 76 were responsible to an independent commission, and 48 headed agencies which had combinations of both types. On the basis of the opinions expressed by the planning directors, the authors could not find important differences among different types of agencies relative to the kind of planning being done, or the political involvement of the planner and the likelihood of plan implementation. There was some evidence that the members of the planning commissions had little prestige. Neither did they have the time nor the inclination to put forth the effort planning directors felt was needed. The authors concluded that many people have overestimated the ability of the planning agency organization to enhance the effectiveness of the planning function. They also suggested that the question of the most appropriate planning agency organization has been greatly oversimplified. It has failed to take into account the wide variety of municipal characteristics which could influence planning outcomes.

Another research attempt conducted by Wright, addressed itself to the relationship between structural features of government and the conduct of public programs.[22] His findings were markedly different than those results found by Rabinovitz and Pottinger. Wright's findings clearly showed the pre-dominance of the executive staff status of the planning function. Regardless of the respondent or the operational measure, roughly 60 to 68 percent of the reporting units had the local executive as the dominant factor in the operations of planning within city government. This compared to only 38 percent from the survey by Rabinovitz and Pottinger.

Thus, Wrights' findings tend to confirm the extent to which municipal governments have taken seriously Robert Walker's advocacy of planning as an executive staff process.

There are two reasons, however, for the discrepancy between these two surveys. First, the samples were substantially different. The Rabinovitz-Pottinger survey circulated 309 names from the membership roster of the American Institute of Planners whereas the Wright survey sampled chief executives and the heads of planning agencies in 431 cities (response rate was 42 percent). Thus, Wright's survey allowed for responses from the heads of planning agencies who were not "planners" insofar as AIP membership was concerned. The first difference, then, was between a sample of planners and a sample of cities. The second factor contributing to the differences disclosed by the two surveys had to do with the question format. The Rabinovitz-Pottinger study offered the respondents only two planning structure options: 1. Responsible to the chief executive; or 2. Independent of the executive, responsible to the city legislature through lay/professional commissioners. The Wright study offered three alternatives to the organizational position of planning: 1. Independent activity of the planning commission; 2. Staff-aid to the chief executive; and 3. Policy advisor to the city council. Some difficulty in choosing between the two alternatives of the first survey was evidenced by the fact that 24 percent of the respondents circled both alternatives. Further, the Wright findings were sufficiently close to the survey proportions (60-69 percent) published in the Municipal Year Book, 1967 and thus tend to validate Wright's results.

In summary, Wright concluded the following after studying the impact of planning structure on various dimensions of planning:[23]

1. The consequences of planning structure are neither uniform nor do they extend across all the dimensions of planning.

2. Planning structure is related to and presumably conditions the people chosen (or choosing) to enter and remain as actors in the planning process. On a highly selective basis, structure affects the preferences and the perceptions of key actors. With one prominent exception, planner-executive contacts, the activities and behavioral performance of municipal planning are unrelated to the type of planning organization.

3. Most importantly, however, it was observed that the single structural feature of planning organization shows greater explanatory power when considered in conjunction with a second structural variable, the form of municipal government. Of special note was the combined effects of the council-manager form of government and the executive staff form of planning organization.

It is important to note that in spite of the fact that no single type of planning agency organization is best under all circumstances, the trend in planning organization is to make the planning agency responsible to the executive. This trend is identified in Table III-3. This does not mean that planning commissions are being abolished, as for the most part they are not. Rather, it does mean that in an increasing proportion of cities the commission is losing its position as the primary client of the professional planner.

There is no way of resolving the debate over which kind of planning organization is best. The answer to this question depends on a large number of assumptions and conditions which vary tremendously. The scarcity of comparative studies of different types of planning agencies makes it difficult to predict what the effect of a given kind of institutional arrangement will be on the planning function under a specified set of conditions. Perhaps the most glaring error made by the participants in the planning organization debate was their assumption that a given set of perspectives on planning and local conditions could be generalized to apply to all

Table III-3. Appointment of Full Time Planning Directors:
1948-1972, Cities over 10,000 Population[24]

	1948	1959	1963	1972
Percent Appointed by Planning Commission	50.3%	26.2%	16.4%	13.0%
Percent Appointed by Executive (Mayor or Manager)	36.7	54.3	62.0	68.0
Percent Appointed by City Council	8.0	14.3	10.1	10.0
Percent Appointed by Other Authority	2.0	4.6	6.3	5.0
Percent Not Reporting	3.0	0.6	5.2	4.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(163)	(302)	(427)	(658)

planning agencies. The scant evidence available indicates
that such a generalization is neither possible nor desirable.
However, it cannot be concluded from this analysis that the
organization of the planning agency is an unimportant aspect
of planning's governmental context. The formal lines of
communication between the planner and the decision makers
have an impact on the way in which planning decisions are
made. This is true even though that impact is not the same
for all planning agencies. Because of a lack of sufficient
research, we cannot say exactly how these formal institutional
arrangements affect planning policy under different conditions.
Neither can we say how important the governmental context of
planning is relative to the generation and management of
conflict. However, it is necessary that the student and
practitioner of planning be aware of the issues that have
been raised concerning the impact of planning institutions
on planning policy formulation.

The Intergovernmental Context of Planning

Metropolitan planning operations have developed and exist today in a variety of multigovernmental situations and environments. Although no one factor is solely responsible for their degrees of effectiveness, the most important single one is the relationship of the planning agency to the political decision makers. As was previously discussed, the opportunity for increasing the performance of effective metropolitan planning is greatly enlarged as this relationship is enhanced. Therefore, any discussion of organization for metropolitan planning should indicate in a direct manner the ways in which planners might move to advance the art and science of planning through more efficient governmental structure and more effective relationships with all levels of government and the private elements which they serve. This high degree of cooperation is necessary if planners are to develop responsive and useful plans that politicians will seriously consider for implementation, given the political dimensions that surround the formulation and enactment of planning policies.

This section will focus on present intergovernmental relationships that have a significant impact on metropolitan planning policies and procedures. Of central importance is an examination of the issues and causes of present functional assignment procedures for planning services in a metropolitan area. Having previously analyzed the influence of the socio-economic characteristics of metropolitanization on the types of issues and actors that are involved in the provision of planning services, we can now examine the complexity and seriousness of the present haphazard distribution of planning responsibilities within the milieu of the political and governmental context of metropolitan planning. In support of this objective, our discussion begins with a re-creation of the arguments citing the causes of complexity and confusion that exist in present intergovernmental

relationships. Vertical and horizontal relations of the federal system of government associated with an increasing scope of planning will be posited. An evaluation of the intergovernmental fiscal factors which contribute to the structural and procedural incongruities of current functional planning responsibilities will be attempted. From this evaluation, hypotheses will be formulated for the purpose of establishing a normative approach to the proper assignment of areawide and local planning services. As already in-dicated, the basis of such an approach lies in the integration of an improved metropolitan planning process to a reformed system of areawide government.

The Cause and Effect of Complexity

Every level of government in our federal system has either an exclusive or shared responsibility for providing a wide variety of planning services to the public. However, the actual assignment of these functional tasks among the different levels and types of government is a persistent source of tension and complexity. For example, municipal governments are often the primary providers of land-use control measures although comprehensive land-use planning occurs at the metropolitan or regional level and States generally assume direct control of critical environmental areas or promote land-use regulations that affect local actions.[25]

The fact that the pattern of allocating planning services varies so widely tends to reflect on the reliance by State-local factions for a vast array of service providers. In New England, counties are of minimal significance as regards major providers of services, while in California, Maryland, New York and Virginia they have extensive service responsibilities. Townships are major providers of services in eleven Northeast and Midwest States, are limited-purpose governments in another ten States, and do not exist in another

29. Special districts are unused in Alaska, Hawaii, Montana, Rhode Island, and Vermont, but have considerable duties in Florida, Georgia, Illinois, and Washington. Sub-state districting has gained increasing prominence in States like Texas, Georgia and Virginia, but is not used in Alaska, Delaware, Hawaii, Rhode Island, and Wyoming.[26]

No professionals should be more concerned with the structural and functional impact of institutional reform proposals on metropolitan affairs than the urban planner who, like it or not, has a daily involvement in the political and administrative arrangements that bind city to county, county to region, region to State, and all to the Federal government. No longer is there always a clear domain for the national government, a sector for the States, and a place for the municipality; for the web of government has become a tangled one.

The urban planner often finds himself working on new levels of involvement and activity. At one end of the planning continuum, he may be involved with a large regional or State planning agency or be a private consultant working across the expanse of Appalachia; at the other end, he may find himself conferring with the indigenous leaders of community action agencies that are involved in an endeavor to cope with his city's poverty problems. Thus, instead of a single frame of reference, there is today an entire pyramid of planning jurisdictions, dominated by the influence of the Federal government.

Similarly, an urban planner may feel the frustration that stems from working within a complex of governmental agencies where masses of paperwork often become a convenient substitute for first-hand observation and communication.[27] The local and regional offices of State and Federal agencies symbolize this phenomenon with long delays and indecision being the products of their efforts. Increased reliance upon elected officials in Washington and the State houses to

expedite a particular program or funding request is another manifestation of this condition. Further, this local dependence on federal monies is not likely to change within the next decade, possibly not within the next two or three generations.[28]

With all three levels of government responding to metropolitan needs, sometimes in different fashions, problems in coordinating and controlling the various organizations, operations, and responsibilities occur. Generally, these problems result in fragmentation and overlapping of authority, policy inconsistencies and administrative complexities. As related to the function of planning, however, there are several factors that contribute to the reality of these problems. These factors are: political, economic, fiscal, governmental and physical.[29] A brief discussion of these factors is warranted before we examine some of the intergovernmental aspects that make up a large part of the milieu of planning.

Political Problems. The absence of any real degree of regional or even areawide concensus as regards the resolution of planning issues, is a fundamental obstacle faced constantly by the planner in coping with intergovernmental problems.[30] Part of this arises from the fact that planning decisions are political decisions and are, by nature, not susceptible to unanimous views. Another part is attributable to the relative weakness of elected political leadership.[31] In matters concerning regional problems, this is particularly likely to be the case. Parochialism and insularity dominate both sides of the central city's boundary line. Their mark is seen in many unhappy discussions involving transportation schemes, industrial location planning, and school consolidation. Effective political leadership is a crucial aspect of urban government that is directly affected by increased activity.[32] At the same time that requirements for leadership swell, its exercise is rendered more difficult. Top

officials have limited time, energy, and mental ability by
virtue of being human. The extent to which they are burdened
with routine duties is inversely related to their ability
to refract bureaucratic activity in new directions, to formu-
late new policies, and to serve as focal points for hammering
out agreements.

In the absence of people and machinery to achieve con-
sensus, and amid problems that cry out for attention, there
has been a major recourse to legalistic solutions that in-
volve passing the problem upward[33]. One result is seen in
the increasing prerequisites to local and regional receipt
of Federal and State aids. As previously discussed, there
is every reason to expect that this form of "carrot-and-stick"
implementation will intensify in the years immediately ahead.

Economic Problems. It is a simple fact that governmental
units are geographically fixed, unlike business firms and
residents who are free to move about as their situations may
require. The result has been to make American cities and
metropolitan areas extremely competitive creatures that in-
creasingly rely upon careful public relations programs, tax
gimmicks, and other techniques to lure and win to them vital
talent, industry and tax revenues[34]. An effect of this com-
petition has been to stimulate unwise planning decisions that
have resulted in a duplication of facilities and misalloca-
tion of land areas and other resources. It has caused the
planner, in general, to suboptimize his efforts within the
confines of his own jurisdiction and to avoid the facts of
economic, social, and cultural life that bind cities of a
region together.

The intercommunity spillover of benefits from sound
planning, and social costs resulting from lack of it, are
widely recognized by layman and specialist alike. In fact,
the economic foundation of an entire metropolitan area de-
pends upon the way in which land is zoned and used in each

of its component communities[35]. For example, insufficient
land for industry and commerce will discourage development
of these enterprises, while over-zoning for commercial or
industrial land may cause an unhealthy rivalry among individ-
ual communities, which results in poor allocation of economic
resources among them. Since local government relies so
heavily upon the property tax, a chief obstacle to sound
areawide planning is the competition among municipalities
for land use developments which are productive of large
tax revenues.

Fiscal Factors. In many urban areas, the inability to
meet even the ongoing and accustomed services is already
evident, to say nothing of accomodating increasing expecta-
tions that give rise to new and greater demands for public
service[36]. The record indicates that both States and cities
have been stretching their available revenue sources to the
breaking point in recent years; their actual rate of increase
has been greater than that of the Federal government; for all
its multitude of programs[37]. While the Federal government
controls both the credit and tax base of the nation, it has
not sharply increased its allocation of resources to domestic,
primarily urban problems in terms of dollars[38].
The results of this imbalance are recognized as having
a strong outward pull on citizens and taxpaying businesses
who can select the relative convenience and the temporarily
reduced costs of suburban living. In their wake comes a
dependency and blight that requires still greater resources
for stabilizttion or cure. This process was described and
discussed in Chapter II. On the political level, the result
has been an increase in federal influence on programs, pro-
cedures, and available funds[39]. While there is consensus
that the urban tax problem must be resolved, the answer,
for the present, is not at hand.

The fiscal problems of local and state governments go
beyond the pressing needs of financing public services,
although the demand for public services and their costs do
generate the problems. This is the conclusion of the Advisory
Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) after a
decade of research on fiscal imbalance in our federated sys-
tem of government[40]. Their findings will be more closely
examined later in conjunction with government reform measures.
What's important at this point in the discussion is perceiving
that fiscal inequities can be a consequence of deeper diffi-
culties. As noted by ACIR, the search for purely fiscal
solutions may exacerbate urban problems[41]. Any set of
financial proposals will have serious implications for the
spatial distribution of programs, the capacity of government
to provide the desired quantity and quality of public ser-
vices, and the distribution of benefits and burdens among
socio-economic groups. Therefore, policies for local finance,
as well as for local government structure must be based upon
a broad set of social and political goals.

Archaic Governmental Structure. A solution to many
problems of urban growth is further inhibited by the archaic
structure and ineffective performance of the vast majority
of substate governments[42]. Adjustment of the scale and
interactions of government units to reflect the vast expanse
of the metropolis has been the most commonly studied type
of governmental change; i.e., there is a growing tendency
to recognize the metropolis as a distinct entity.

Changes of this type have taken several forms, which
will be subsequently described herein. For the most part,
they consist of intensified interaction among government
units, establishment of special districts, creation of
full-fledged metropolitan governments, and organization of
assignment mechanisms for coordinated state government acti-

vity in the metropolis[43]. The various arguments for and against
metropolitan organization, and the theory or rationale used
by the various reformers, echo common themes. In essence,
this theme states that the fundamental contradiction which
strains traditional adminsitrative structures is that econom-
ic, social and physical events in all metropolitan areas
are highly interdependent whereas the many governmental units
attempting to influence such events have tended to act in
isolation from one another. In order to obtain certain
desired results, therefore, governments are increasingly
seeking to integrate their activities on a metropolitcan
scale. Thus metropolitan reorganization is a major aspect
of the general problem of the assignment of planning acitivi-
ties commensurate with functional and geographical special-
ization.

Highlighting this trend in government reform as it
relates to the planning function in metropolitan areas is
a recent statement by ACIR which pinpointed the major issues
involved with the comprehensive study and efforts to restruc-
ture substate governments[44]:

> Recent Federal and State substate districting actions
> in comprehensive and functional planning, grant ad-
> ministration, and program coordination, coupled with
> rising new fears among local officials of the pros-
> pects of uncontrollable special and public authori-
> ties and continuing hostility toward areawide gov-
> ernment, have combined to set the scene for a new
> debate over regional governance. The focal point of
> the debate has shifted away from a unitary system
> and toward two-tier and three-tier approaches in-
> volving regional councils as well as general-pur-
> pose local governments. The principal antagonists
> have also shifted way from academicians and "blue
> ribbon" reformers versus the local government
> "power structure" and toward the politically res-
> ponsible generalists versus middle management pro-
> gram specialists at the Federal, State, multi-county,
> and local levels. The key issues under debate are
> not only the traditional concerns with economy,
> and efficiency, although these are important; the
> basic question to be resolved now is the proper
> relationship between generalists and specialists to

ensure effective regional planning, programming, and
governance.

Physical Problems. There is, finally, the constant
need to insert new land uses at higher standards into the
built-up fabric of existing cities and regions. Not only
must more people be housed, but new uses must be accommodated,
such as airports, sewers, expressways and schools. Each of
these new requirements, when developed by the planner, tests
the ability of existing mechanisms to achieve sensible solu-
tions.

The task of guiding urban development in metropolitan
areas has, however, grown beyond the ability of municipal
planning agencies as physical, social and economic factors
affecting development have extended beyond the municipality's
boundaries, and as special districts have been created to
provide urban services among a number of municipalities.[45]
As a consequence there has been an increasing realization
of the need to conduct comprehensive planning on an areawide
basis. Thus, urban planning in metropolitan areas increasing-
ly is a function which is performed at two levels: the local
or municipal level, and the areawide or metropolitan level[46].
When one considers the presumed growth of metropolitan areas
across the country, it is easy to see why future (and pre-
sent) physical problems provide still another measure of the
planner's stake in intergovernmental relations[47].

Intergovernmental Relations and Planning

There are two distinct dimensions of intergovernmental
relationships in our federated system of government: a
division of responsibility sharing among national, State
and local levels of government; and assignment of urban func-
tions within a level of local government from among different
kinds of governments—counties, municipalities, townships,
special districts, and school districts.

With respect to levels of government, the Federal govern-
ment is the main provider of natural resource development
and air and water transport services. State governments
are the major providers of higher education, highways and
correctional services. Local governments remain as dominant
providers of police, fire, sewerage, parks and recreation,
land-use planning and its control, refuse collection and
library services.[48]

However, these data do not adequately reflect the true
assignment of urban functions because they do not take into
account the influence of intergovernmental aid on these
functions. When this factor is considered, as in the case
of the planning function, the Federal government replaces
the States as the major financier of comprehensive planning
and supplants local governments as the chief source of funds
for housing and urban renewal[49]. Intergovernmental aid
programs also play a major part in determining patterns of
functional assignment within States. Thus, 19 States chan-
nel all their welfare aid solely to county governments as
do seven States in the hospital function, 12 States in
the health function, and five States in the highways function.
State welfare aid is disbursed solely to townships in Ver-
mont; hospital aid goes solely to special districts in Georgia,
and exclusively to municipalities in Nebraska and West Vir-
ginia[50].

An examination of the issues affecting the functional
assignment of planning to responsible units of State, area-
wide, and local governments aims at the heart of American
federalism. Whether planning should be performed locally,
regionally, or at a State or national level is central to
the objectives of this research. But, before analyzing
recent findings as regards the need and feasibility for im-
proved assignment policies, it may be instructional to
briefly outline the traditional pattern of intergovernmental
relations as it pertains to planning[51]. Recent intergovern-

mental relationships may be classified into two general categories for the purposes of this exposition. Vertical relationships refer to ties that link a jurisdiction to governments of higher and broader jurisdiction. Horizontal relationships describe a government's relationship to its neighbors across invisible boundary lines. Together, these relationships cut across all the functional areas of concern to the planner, such as highways, urban renewal, poverty, pollution, and natural beauty.

Horizontal Relationships

Governmental boundary lines may be invisible to the planner on his field trips, but they are very real in legal, political and practical terms. The walls between jurisdictions appear to grow taller even as accelerated urbanization proves how outdated they have become.

In 1972, there were 78,269 separate governments in the United States, (See Table II-4)[52]. Additionally, there were 267 officially designated Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas[53]. In all, multiple governments rule, with 90 units per SMSA being average. Although wide variations are apparent, the "typical" SMSA had two counties, 13 townships, 21 municipalities, 18 school districts and 31 special districts[54]. For even the simplest planning purposes, such a number of jurisdictions involves problems of coordination, competition, and political and social distance between people. To the planner, it raises the question: What can he do with his formal charge when it encompasses so small a portion of the total area's resources and needs? A number of possible solutions have been suggested and are being applied across these lines.

Regional Planning Efforts. In planning, perhaps the most common device has been the regional planning commission whose directors represent the constituent political bodies. The typical charge to these regional bodies has been to ad-

Table III-4. Number of Governments In the United States.

Type of Government	1952*	1962	1972	Percent Change 1952-1972
Total	116,807	91,237	78,269	-33.0
U. S. government	1	1	1	. . . . .
State governments	50	50	50	. . . . .
Local governments	116,756	91,186	78,218	-33.0
Counties	3,052	3,043	3,044	. . . . .
Municipalities	16,807	18,000	18,517	+10.2
Townships	17,702	17,142	18,991	+ 7.3
School Districts	67,355	34,678	15,781	-76.5
Special Districts	12,340	18,323	23,885	+93.5

*Adjusted to include units in Alaska and Hawaii, which were reported separately prior to statehood of these areas in 1959.

vise on planning problems and to derive long-term compre-
hensive plans for regional growth and development. Stress
should be placed on the advisory nature of these bodies.
Many regional organizations have been a product of primary
interests in transportation planning, spawned by planning
funds made available from the Federal Highway Administration,
and in comprehensive planning as established through the
Urban Planning Assistance Program as approved in the Housing
Act of 1954[55]. Section 701 of the housing legislation pro-
vided 50-50 matching grants-in-aid for planning on a metro-
politan basis by official State, metropolitan, or regional
planning agencies. As noted by ACIR, these programs tended
to foster a substantial increase in individual municipal
planning activity rather than to initiate much planning on
a metropolitan basis, although eventually some of the "701"-
funded planning programs furthered interlocal confederalism[56].

With the arrival of "creative federalism" during the mid-1960's came a proliferation of new Federal planning requirements and assistance programs aimed at the regional level. (See Figure III-5). Present regional planning councils are in a dilemma largely promulgated by the product of ambivalent Federal policies and inconsistent State action. On the other hand, the Federal government sponsors a comprehensive approach to regional planning and grant coordination and, on the other, it supports function-by-function areawide planning and project development. This bifurcation was exemplified by the Section 204 review requirements of the Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. The trend toward procedural comprehensiveness in the context of separate functional planning processes, often performed by distinct organizations, has remained to the present, and has minimized the potential effectiveness of regional planning[57].

Outside the framework of the regional planning commission, some metropolitan areas have been experimenting with the formation of councils of elected officials that may deal with specific regional problems ranging from air pollution to transit[58]. Examples may now be found in a large number of areas within the United States; e.g., Philadelphia (Regional Council of Elected Officials) and San Francisco (Association of Bay Area Governments) to name only two. Composed directly of elected officials, this device attempts to bring together political leadership in such a way as to provide a forum for conflicting viewpoints and a change for reaching consensus on one or more specific problems. Moreover, it uses, rather than threatens, existing political units[59].

In 1972 approximately 576 regional councils with the following characteristics were identified: multijurisdictional local governmental representation, a multipurpose program, legal status to receive funds, and staff. Their number has increased approximately 10% a year for the last

Number of Regional Councils Established During Year Indicated

130

120

110

100

90

80

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

0

Pre-1954
Total =39

Housing Act of 1954—'701' Planning Assistance Program Established

Housing Act of 1956

Housing Act of 1957

Housing Act of 1959—'701' Planning To Cover Entire Urban Area With Local
Agency Having Planning Jurisdiction In Entire Area

Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1962

Open Space Act of 1963

Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964

Housing Act of 1964

Appalachian Regional
Development Act of 1965

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965—COGs Eligible for '701g' Planning Assistance

Public Works & Economic Development Act of 1965

Demonstration Cities & Metropolitan
Development Act of 1966 (Section 204 Review)

Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968—(A-95 Review)

OMB Circular A-95 Issued

1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971

Figure III-5. Annual Growth Rates of Regional Councils, by
Federal Program Enactments, 1954-1971.

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations,
Regional Decision Making, p. 76.

three years. Of these councils, 63% (352) have a majority
of local government elected officials on their governing
bodies[60].

These state or locally created umbrella regional coun-
cils of governments represent one major innovation in metro-
politan areas during the last ten years. They are general-
purpose, policy-making bodies, often evolving in form from
an existing metropolitan planning agency. They are respon-
sible for developing areawide plans and for coordinating the
major independent functional agencies within the region, in
order to direct the development of the metropolitan area[61].

Extensive research and the use of questionnaires by
ACIR in attempting to study the impact and effectiveness of
regional planning councils and councils of governments, led
them to conclude the following[62]:

1. Despite increasing pressure from central cities
for proportionate representation as regional council res-
ponsibilities grow, the majority of regional councils con-
tinue to rely on a voting system that gives each member juris-
diction equal power in regional decision making regardless
of size, financial contributions, or needs.

2. Many regional councils have become heavily dependent
on Federal funds, with the result that local goals and pri-
orities are sometimes displaced by Federal ones, and member-
ship is no longer truly voluntary.

3. Federal planning funds have spurred regional councils
into controversial social and life-style areas, but some of
these bodies have not established the necessary machinery for
handling central city-suburb and inter-suburban conflict.

4. Regional councils are producing more and more com-
prehensive and functional plans, yet still lack the power
to implement them directly or to compel or coerce constituent
general purpose jurisdictions or special districts to carry
out or abide by them.

5. Even though a consensus is emerging regarding the need to perform certain urban functions on an areawide basis, only a handful of regional councils have been able to assume operational responsibilities for public services and programs.

6. While considerable support exists among regional council directors, mayors, and county executives for these organizations to become umbrella agencies, the feudalistic attitudes of program specialists and the general public's opposition to regional government remain considerable barriers to expanded action.

The essential issue, then, involves whether in light of growing demands for areawide public service delivery and authoritative decision making, regional councils can continue to serve two masters. In a sense, their rather fragile structure is being strained by the conflicting objectives and strategies of higher and lower authorities. The possible future directions of the regional council movement in response to these challenges, and their consequences, will be discussed in Chapter V.

Extraterritorial Controls. A third technique practiced in many states is the use of extraterritorial planning and administrative controls. Extraterritorial powers are those powers which a city exercises outside its ordinary territorial limits to regulate activity there or to assist in providing services to its citizens within its own boundaries[63].

Regulatory powers of an extraterritorial nature commonly include control over possible threats to health and safety, abatement of nuisances, and regulation of zoning and subdivisions. The use of extraterritoriality for providing services to the city's residents is most commonly connected with water supply, sewage treatment, recreation areas, and rubbish dumping sites outside city boundaries[64].

Use of extraterritorial powers by cities varies among the States and by the type of power authorized[65]. State

legislatures have been relatively generous in granting cities
power to go outside their boundaries to help in providing a
service to their residents. In most States, cities are
particularly allowed to obtain their water and treat their
sewage outside their boundaries, because of the frequent
difficulties of providing these important utility services
within their own boundaries. About 30 States have given
cities jurisdiction beyond their boundaries for regulating
subdivisions[66]. To some extent, the increased establishment
of county planning and zoning in unincorporated areas has
reduced this need[67].

As a method for providing or improving city services,
the use of extraterritorial powers is a logical and fre-
quently necessary way for a city to discharge its responsi-
bilities to its citizens. From the standpoint of the metro-
politan area as a whole, however, this may prove to be a
disadvantage if it deters the city from cooperating with
other communities in an areawide approach yielding greater
overall benefits. This approach also raises the possibility
of creating intergovernmental friction if the city is not
careful to be a "good citizen" in the manner it carries out
its activities in the outside area[68].

Uncontrolled development at the fringes can have deter-
iorating effects on property values in the established
neighboring areas of the central city, and can complicate
the provision of certain services (police and fire, for
example) within the municipality. Thus, the use of extra-
territorial zoning and subdivision regulation in unincorpor-
ated fringe areas can bring these conditions under better
control and, by so doing, strengthen the movement toward
areawide land use planning.

From the standpoint of political feasibility, the use
of extraterritorial controls has the advantage of creating
relatively little disturbance in the political status quo.
Unincorporated territories usually have only "rudimentary

government", so that the officials and employees whose positions are threatened are few. Moreover, while the extraterritorial controls represent an exercise of governmental power from outside, it is the lack of exercise of such power by the residents of the territory which frequently moves the adjoining city to exercise its power there. Thus, extraterritorial regulation represents a new exercise of power, rather than a shift of an existing power[69].

A major weakness of extraterritorial controls as an approach to reorganizing local government structure in metropolitan areas is its limited applicability. Many States do not give localities adequate authorization for the most important regulatory powers from the standpoint of dealing with metropolitan growth: planning, zoning and subdivision regulations. Even where these powers exist they are useful only when there are unincorporated areas adjacent to municipalities, a condition long since past for many major urban centers[70]. Moreover, to the extent that these controls help ease the problems of fringe areas, they relieve the pressure for more basic solutions, except where the fringe area cannot veto a proposed annexation initiated by the adjoining city[71].

While extraterritorial controls, as presently authorized in most States, enables the central city to protect itself, it deprives the residents of the outside areas of a voice in determining their own affairs. This is contrary to the principle of local self-determination as guaranteed by the Constitution. It can also generate resentment, to the detriment of the cooperation required for satisfactory intergovernmental relations in metropolitan areas, as well as continuing work to achieve more comprehensive approaches to metropolitan reorganization.

Intergovernmental Agreements. Far greater use, however, has been made of intergovernmental agreements for the joint planning and administration of services and facilities.

Through the process of contracting, some services have been
shifted from city to county levels. These accords then be-
come binding agreements upon participating governments and fol-
low from legislative action[72].

Much more numerous than such shifts of function are the
thousands of voluntary agreements entered into by localities.
Such agreements may be for the provision of sewer or water
services, or, in some areas, for library services. There
may also be highly informal, professional arrangements for
sharing police and fire communication equipment or for pro-
viding emergency assistance in any one of many service areas.

These various forms of intergovernmental agreements
represent the greatest breakthrough yet achieved in solving
intergovernmental problems of the horizontal type[73]. They
get things done that might not otherwise be possible, while
respecting local identities and foundations. Nevertheless,
they have severe shortcomings. A summary of these weaknesses
follows[74].

A basic weakness of joint agreements is that they are
practical only when the immediate local interest of each
participating unit is not likely to be in conflict with
the broader areawide interest. Conflicts between areawide
and immediate local interests are apt to arise in handling
functions requiring an areawide approach. These are the
governmental functions which have the most significant ef-
fects on economic growth and development. Sound long-range
development of a metropolitan area's economy might call,
for example, for decisions on these functions which would
encourage location or development of new business in City
A which threatens to be competitive to existing business in
City B. Such decisions would not be carried out under a
voluntary intergovernmental agreement. Thus, intergovern-
mental agreements are not suited to effective decision mak-
ing on issues which transcend the interest of any one part

of the area and must depend on an areawide majority approval
rather than areawide unanimity of all governmental jurisdic-
tions.

Issues involving the adjustment of service areas and
areas of tax jurisdiction can be resolved, as a practical
manner, only by such areawide decision making. A community
which is now paying less than its proportionate share would
be reluctant to consent to an agreement for a tax restruc-
turing which would increase its tax payments.

Intergovernmental contracts have a weakness where the
"seller" municipality has a virtual monopoly of the ser-
vice. If one community controls the water supply of an
area, for example, only its own self-restraint protects the
purchasing communities from being exploited on price and
service. Thus, where the parties to an agreement are not
in an equally strong bargaining position, and monopoly
conditions exist, some outside authority is needed to protect
the purchasers.

As noted in a recent study completed by ACIR, both the
voluntary Councils of Governments approach to reorganization
of local governments in metropolitan areas and the Urban
County approach are basically hybrids of the intergovernmental
agreements approach[75]. As such, they contain all of the
strengths and weaknesses of this approach. As indicated
in the ACIR findings, time may be running out on these types
of governmental reorganization approaches unless corrective
measures are applied. Their present and future roles appear
to be ones of useful but limited application for solving
lesser and noncontroversial problems in small urban areas
while the problems of metropolitan growth and polarization
continue[76].

Special Purpose Districts. A metropolitan special pur-
pose district is an independent unit of government organized
to perform one or a few urban functions throughout part or
all of a metropolitan area, including the central city[77].

The composition of special district governing bodies varies
greatly, but most of them have appointed or ex officio mem-
bers, with the appointments made by the Governor or by gov-
erning bodies of local governments within the jurisdiction
of the special district. Special purpose districts generally
finance themselves from service charges, sales, rents and
tolls. Many do not have taxing power, but where they do it
is frequently unhampered by the constitutional and statutory
tax limits that apply to other local governments. Exercise
of the bonding power usually does not require referral to
the voters, but frequently is restricted to the issuance
of revenue bonds[78].

The extensive use of metropolitan special districts,
and the transfer to them of local government functions to
be handled on an areawide basis, is one of the most signi-
ficant changes in local government organization in metro-
politan areas in recent years. (Refer back to the figures
in Table III-4). To a large degree this development has
been due to the fact that special purpose districts are
free from the constitutional and statutory limits on the
fiscal powers of general-purpose local governments. Un-
doubtedly, however, this development has been a response
to the need for providing some way of handling areawide
problems when other methods for adapting local government
to areawide needs were impossible to achieve.

The key advantage of the special purpose district
approach is its high degree of political feasibility. One
reason is that it is only a minor threat to existing poli-
tical organiztion and power. The minor threat is the chip-
ping off of a function which may have been previously per-
formed by existing local government. However, this erosion
may not become serious enough to arouse alarm until after a
number of functions have been chipped away, by the creation
of additional special districts[79].

Another reason that the metropolitan special purpose
district has high political feasibility is that it usually
can be created by a simple act of the legislature, and
does not require constitutional amendment like city-county
consolidation, county home rule, or federation forms of
government. Further, such legislative acts also do not re-
quire approval by the local electorate[80].

The special district approach has proven effective in
providing an areawide geographic base for dealing with
areawide problems. It can carry out its functions unres-
tricted by the boundaries of regular governmental jurisdic-
tions. It has the advantage of consolidated administration
of a larger scaled operation, and better planning and execu-
tion of the function in the area. Further, it is adaptable
to use where the metropolitan area overstrides more than
one county, or more than one State[81]. Some of the other
reorganization methods are practically limited to a single
county or State.

Assigning the special purpose district just one, or at
most a few, functions makes its responsibility clear. It
is likely to give the public exactly and quickly what it
wants. On the other hand, this singlemindedness approach
often works to the detriment of a coordinated approach since
basic planning services, such as urban redevelopment or
transportation have a. major impact on other area development
programs.

The special purpose distirct approach to governmental
reorganization in metropolitan areas also has other weak-
nesses. Extensive use of the device complicates rather than
simplifies the problem of governmental organization in the
metropolitan area. Authority is further diffused rather
than consolidated which increases the problems of voter con-
trol and duplication of effort. Once set up, special dis-
tricts are difficult to abolish or consolidate, with the
result that whatever areawide approaches might exist in the

metropolitan community tend to be fragmented rather than coordinated[82].

Special purpose districts tend to erode the importance of general-purpose governments—usually cities—and, as such, diminishes their capacity to elicit the support, interest and respect of the citizenry, and therefore their ability to govern. The voter has no direct control over the district's conduct. In most cases, there are several such districts in an area, and they have different boundaries, and different methods of selection of the members of the governing bodies, making the problem of voter visibility and control all but hopeless[83].

Special purpose districts frequently are established with the intention of being self-supporting. The need for covering their costs tends to become a preoccupation, with the result that they may neglect the effects of their activities on other related services, and resist efforts to have them assume responsibility for such activities (e.g., mass transit rather than toll bridges) which may not be self-supporting[84].

Ironically, metropolitan special purpose districts can provide an inducement to general government reform at the regional level. For example, the Metropolitan Council in the Twin Cities area evolved from the need for a regional agency to coordinate the planning and development activities of metropolitan special districts. Presently, the Council reviews all plans of each independent commission, board, or agency which would have an areawide effect. Special district plans must be submitted to the Council before any action may be taken, and the Council may indefinitely suspend any operation of the plan which it considers to be inconsistent or detrimental to the comprehensive metropolitan development guide. Moreover, the Metropolitan Council is charged with making recommendations as to which governmental agency is best suited to discharge functional responsibilities

affecting the development guide[85]. Consequently, other regional districts, when they are created, will better fit into the overall metropolitan governance system.

Despite the weaknesses of the special district approach, it exhibits a great deal of flexibility. It can be coterminous with a unit of general local government or overlap its boundaries; it can have varying degrees of independence from local governing bodies; and it can be used to amend boundaries to follow functional needs. It's functional, structural, fiscal and territorial flexibilities insure that it may continue to play a prominent role in most metropolitan governance systems.

Annexation. Another mechanism for rationalizing metropolitan problems is the technique of annexation which, in some sections of the country at least, has done much to clarify service areas and extend planning effectiveness. Annexation is the absorption of territory by a city. While such territory may be incorporated or unincorporated, usually it is unincorporated territory, and smaller than the annexing city. The result is a larger and not essentially different governmental unit.

Annexations are carried out in five principal ways: (1) Legislative determination, where municipal boundaries are extended by special act of the State legislature; (2) Popular determination, in which votes determine whether a territorial extension shall take place; (3) Municipal determination, in which the annexing municipality makes a unilateral determination; (4) Judicial determination, in which the State judiciary decides whether a proposed annexation shall take place; and (5) Quasi-legislative determination, in which a commission or board makes the determination[86].

Annexation has always been the most common method for adjusting the boundaries of local governments in metropolitan areas. The nation's great cities achieved their present

size largely through this process. Annexation was relative-
ly easy to achieve because it could be accomplished by spe-
cial legislative act, by unilateral action of the annexing
city, or by approval of a simple majority of the combined
vote of the city and territory to be annexed[87]. As dis-
tinguished from the large annexations by the big cities
in the 19th century, recent annexations have been mainly
of small areas[88]. This reflects the fact that annexation
has come to be used mostly as a means of resolving the prob-
lems arising between the central city and its abutting un-
incorporated urban fringe; the type of uncontrolled devel-
opment referred to in the previous section on extraterrito-
rial powers.

Annexation is sometimes used in conjunction with other
approaches to governmental reorganizations. As long ago
as 1876, the city-county separation of St. Louis, Missouri
was accompanied by the city's annexing of 43 square miles.
In 1950, the realignment of city and county functions be-
tween Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia was accompanied
by Atlanta's annexing of 82 square miles of contiguous, un-
incorporated territory. A similar plan for Louisville and
Jefferson County, Kentucky was defeated in 1956[89].

The use of annexation powers must also be considered
in connection with two other procedures affecting the order-
ly development of unincorporated territory in metropolitan
areas: extraterritorial regulation and incorporation of
new units of government. As noted previously, extraterrito-
rial regulation can be an important step in paving the way
for sound annexation. It established control over unin-
corporated territory at the critical formation time in the
development of a community, when decisions of great impor-
tance for the urban future of the area are made. Controls
over new incorporations are necessary to assure that new
units of government have the potential for providing ade-
quate urban services, and that further fragmentation of

government in the metropolitan area is minimized[90].

Cities in the States of Virginia and Texas have had unique success in the use of annexation, due to the special legal provisions of those two States. In Virginia, local government units or citizens may petition for an annexation, in which case a special annexation court is set up to hear and determine whether the annexation shall be carried out. The court may uphold, modify, or set aside the annexation action[91]. Virginia has operated continually under this annexation procedure since early in this century. In Texas, cities may empower themselves through home rule charter provisions to annex unincorporated territory by ordinance. In the ten year period 1961-1970, of the 20 cities in the nation having annexed the most territory, four Texas cities stood among the highest[92].

The major strength of annexation as an approach to reorganization of local government in metropolitan areas is that it broadens the geographical jurisdiction of municipalities. Moreover, it is a flexible way of broadening jurisdiction. To the extent that it forestalls incorporations or creation of special purpose districts, it keeps the governmental pattern from becoming more complex. Further, as an approach for handling areawide problems, annexation strengthens rather than weakens general purpose governments[93].

Annexation brings areas at the fringes of municipalities under controlled growth and development. If left uncontrolled, such areas can be a source of trouble and cost for the entire area. Annexation provides an absolute right of self-determination and local control where consent of the annexed area is required. In those States which regard annexation issues as affecting a broader territory than just the area to be annexed, due regard for local wishes can be provided. This can be done through adequate provisions for standards in determining the soundness of a proposed annexation, and for judicial review. While annexation can be an important

approach to reorganization by itself, the fact that it is
generally limited to use in unincorporated areas makes it
likely to be most useful as a supplement to other reorgani-
zation approaches[94].

The weaknesses of annexation as an approach to the re-
organization of local governments in metropolitan areas are
summarized as follows[95]:

1. Legal obstacles in most States prevent municipali-
ties from annexing territory. These legal obstacles are
mainly the exclusive power of annexees in many States to
initiate annexation procedures, and their exercise of a
veto over adoption of the annexation plan.

2. Limitations of annexations to unincorporated areas
reduces its effectiveness as a tool of reorganization where
central cities are hemmed in by incorporated territory.
However, the villages and towns bordering central cities
may find the method useful in expanding their territories.

3. Another weakness of the annexation method is that
it may precipitate "defensive" incorporations by fringe
communities that do not want to be absorbed by their big
neighbor. The result is additional fractionalization of
political authority. A related reflex action is that all
the cities in the area may start competing for the annexa-
tion of unincorporated territory, producing a haphazard annex-
ation pattern.

4. There have been examples of abuse of the annexation
power by cities taking in attractive areas in terms of
high taxable value and minimum problem conditions, and
carefully avoiding the problem spots. However, this abuse
can be guarded against by establishment of proper criteria
for annexation and a requirement of apppoval by a judicial
agency.

In conclusion, annexation has been used extensively
to enlarge municipal boundaries (with the notable exceptions

of the closely-built eastern states and in the largest cities).
Most individual annexations are small, but the total area
added by this method is considerable (during 1970 and 1971,
1,517 square miles were annexed)[96]. Although annexation con-
tinues to be a useful method in bringing urban services to
fringe areas, it has not been an effective tool for achieving
metropolitan government in this century.

City-County Consolidation*. In a few instances, State
legislation has effected a union of services across the
whole or part of a metropolitan area. The classic example
is Boston's Metropolitan District Commission (MDC) which,
since 1919, has provided water, sewer, park, and certain
police functions to more than 40 cities and towns in Greater
Boston[97]. The MDC is a kind of super-government whose rev-
enues are obtained from an assessment formula applied to
each participating city and town.

Despite the considerable attention paid to the activity,
the examples of actual consolidation of municipal bodies
are few and far between[98]. In 1945, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
was completely consolidated with its county (parish), an
action which produced one set of officials, one planning
commission, and a more effective service over a large geo-
graphic area[99]. Thirty years later, however, it remains an
almost solitary textbook example of city-county consolidation.
As a contrast, UNIGOV, put into operation in January, 1970
by State legislation consolidating Indianapolis and Marion
County, achieved permanent status January 1, 1972, when the
first elected mayor and city-county Council took office.

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*City-county consolidations are the merging of two units of
different stature. "Consolidation", as opposed to the former
approach, is the joining together of two or more units of
government of approximately equal stature to form a new unit
of government. Consolidation has been a rarely used reor-
ganization approach when compared with other approaches and,
as such, will not be discussed. For a detailed discussion
of this reorganization approach see, ACIR, Alternative Ap-
proaches, pp. 58-67.

The new government has one mayor elected by all of the citizens of a 402-square-mile county and one 29-member city-county council elected in 25 single-member districts and four county-wide districts. However, the consolidation pertained only to civil government, not school government. As a result, independent cities and towns within Marion County retain many governmental functions and all services are not provided on a county-wide basis[100].

City-county consolidation takes three forms: (1) the merger of a county and the cities within it into a single government, which is the most complete form of consolidation; (2) substantial merger of the county and the cities, but the retention of the county as a separate unit for some functions; (3) unification of some, but not all, of the municipal governments and the county government. Sometimes the consolidation is broadened to include the territory of two or more counties and the county and municipal governments within them, or to include other local governments[101].

City-county consolidation has the advantage of providing the base for a unified, coordinated program of service, development and control over an enlarged area. It is thus suited to the more effective handling of areawide problems, the achievement of an optimum scale of operation, and improved relationship between expenditure needs and fiscal resources. It also simplifies the voter's task of understanding the governmental structure and holding it responsible[102].

As a means for adjusting boundaries to the geographical area of metropolitan problems, city-county consolidation has the greatest potential in medium and small metropolitan areas that are contained in one county and are unlikely to extend beyond the county's boundaries for some time to come, and

in which there is one urban center surrounded by considerable
undeveloped territory[103].

Obstacles that stand in the way of adoption of city-
county consolidation are the fact that many State constitu-
tions do not authorize consolidation, and when they do,
enabling legislation is still needed and is not easy to
obtain. Another obstacle is the frequent requirement that
for approval the plan needs the favorable vote of separate
majorities in the central city and the rest of the county,
and perhaps even in one or more of the other municipalities
of the county[104]. A recent study of local government re-
organization involving referenda, concluded that voter
acceptance of governmental reorganization attempts was
typically one of nonacceptance[105]. Of those reorganization
referenda that came up during 1970-1972, only two out of a
possible 10 were passed by the voters. Despite this record,
however, some 60 major reorganizations were reported under
consideration in 1972-73[106]. Still another difficulty is
the potential resistance from those in office, since a con-
solidation is a threat to the positions of numerous officials
and employees.

A single consolidated city-county is a move in the
direction of reducing local participation in local affairs,
and of making it more difficult to vary government services
and finanaces according to local desires. Recent plans
have sought to overcome this defect, however, through dif-
ferential service areas[107].

The problem of tax equities arises when the consolida-
tion takes in a substantial area of rural territory, for
which it is unwise or unnecessary to provide urban services.
However, the establishment of separate service and taxing
districts is a way of meeting this objection. Another way
is to require the establishment of special purpose districts
for specific urban services in the rural areas. This has
some of the disadvantages, however, of special districts

(see previous section on Special Purpose Districts).

A final difficulty of the city-county consolidation meth-
od is the inflexibility of the new unit's boundaries because
of the constitutional and statutory restrictions on a county's
taking in territory from adjoining counties. How serious
this problem is will depend on how much undeveloped territory
is included in the new city-county, where this territory
lies in relation to population expansion and how fast the
expansion is proceeding[108].

Federation. The federation approach to governmental
reorganization involves the division of local government
functions in the metropolitan area between two levels (tiers)
of government. Area wide functions are assigned to a "metro-
politan" government, with boundaries encompassing the units
from which the functions are assumed. The local-type func-
tions are left to the existing municipalities, which are
sometimes enlarged in territory and called buroughs. In
their advanced stage of development, the urban county and
multipurpose metropolitan district resemble the federation
as a form of government organization, since they provide
a clear separation of most areawide and local functions[109].

Although authorities in the field of local and metro-
politan government for many years have considered the fed-
eration form an attractive approach to the problem of govern-
ment organization in metropolitan areas, very few (three to
be exact) have been adopted in the United States. The most
famous and first federation in North America was the fed-
eration government of the Municipality of Metropolitan
Toronto, created in 1954[110].

Two types of two-tier, general metropolitan government
organizations exist. One involves a general-purpose area-
wide government and a set of constituent local units; the
other centers around an areawide body which is a subordinate
State or local instrumentality and which conditions rather

than performs selected areawide functions. The general-
purpose two-tier arrangement exists in Dade County, Florida,
and Toronto; the instrumentality approach to metropolitan
federation occurs in Minneapolis-St. Paul and Atlanta[111].

The assignment of each governmental function to its
appropriate level under the federal approach facilitates
achievement of the best handling of each function, from the
point of view of most effective planning, decision, and
optimum scale of operation. Retention of the identities
of local governments preserves the focus of local civic
pride, interest, and participation. It also permits the
maximization of diversity, and experiment, and the performance
of functions[112].

Federation permits coordinated areawide approaches to
areawide problems, and a closer relating of taxing areas to
benefit areas. By assigning to the metropolitan government
the areawide problems and to the municipalities the local
problems, it keeps officials at each level from being over-
whelmed by details[113].

A weakness of the federation approach is that, while it
sets up a new general purpose government, it diminishes
the strength of the lower tier of general purpose govern-
ments. Also, the federation approach requires working out
many details that are not required in the other approaches.
These details, which are likely to be controversial, include
the exact distribution of powers between the areawide and
municipal governments, and the composition and method of
selection of the governing body[114].

The federation approach has less political feasibility
than a step-by-step approach, such as the piecemeal transfer
of functions to an urban country. Also, the federation is
a new political entity, not foreseen at the time when most
State constitutions were prepared, so constitutional revi-
sion is invariably needed. The relationship to county
governments must be worked out, and this may be especially

difficult if the new unit overlies more than one county or involves more than one State[115].

Furthermore, a key question in political feasibility is the requirement for voter approval. Commonly, local approval requires separate majorities in different sub-units within the area of the contemplated federation, and sometimes this involves majorities in each of the political subdivisions affected. This amounts to giving each unit a veto over the whole, and is a particularly difficult obstacle to overcome[116].

Finally, there exists no clear evidence that urban civic and political leadership in the United States are as yet favorably disposed to the concept of "metropolitan government" as such, which is embodied in the federation plan. The conceptual ties to traditional forms of local government are very strong, and the image of a single new form of general government covering an entire metropolitan area is untenable to many.

Summary. When viewed collectively, all of these devices for improving horizontal intergovernmental relationships fall far short of contending successfully with the problems they seek to address. The more grandiose types of solution, federation and consolidation, have been somewhat disappointing to their advocates. Recent findings of ACIR highlight the generally lackluster performances of these two approaches to government reorganization[117]:

1. The two approaches to reform outlined in this chapter aspire to comprehensive change. Comprehensive change is atypical in urban political systems where local policy inputs are numerous and diverse in nature, where there are many veto groups, and where no break-down in social order has occurred.

2. Although they have been successful in securing Federal grants, metropolitan city-county consolidations have served as the focus for very few Federal substate

and regional districting efforts.

3. Few federative approaches have been utilized in American metropolitan areas. The Toronto-type federation has remained untried, and Dade County represents the sole example of a deliberate chartering of a federated urban county. Few States allow the incorporation of metropolitan multi-purpose special districts, and no more than two or three such districts are presently functioning.

4. The State supported umbrella regional council represents the chief innovation in federative forms during the past decade. This is a general purpose policy-making body, which has the responsibility for developing areawide plans, for coordinating the major independent functional agencies within the region, and controlling the development of the metropolitan area. It is illustrated by the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council.

5. To an even greater extent than whites, blacks resist metropolitan reform efforts largely because of fear that their central city voting strength would be diluted by the adoption of areawide government. In the two campaigns where black majorities supported consolidation efforts, influential black leaders participated from the beginning, "black" single-member districts were delineated, and a possibility existed that the central city would annex the urban fringe if the reform attempt failed. To date, formal black representation on consolidated city-county councils has generally equalled or exceeded the proportions held on pre-reform central city councils.

6. Although metropolitan federations or consolidations might make redistributions easier legally, no fundamental shifts have yet been made in the collection and distribution of local tax revenues in favor of those at the lower end of the economic scale. Evidence exists, however, that reform governments have been more successful than their predecessors in securing Federal aid for the administration of programs that are redistributive in nature.

7. Less than conclusive data suggests that although consolidated and federated governments result in higher total costs for local government, they do not always result in higher tax rates. Further, reform governments are likely to bring strengthened over-head management, more effective use of tax money, and a higher level of public services, especially in those programs which depend heavily upon major physical facilities.

Some hope is currently being placed in solving the prob-
lems of governing the metropolis through the same "carrot-
and-stick" approach employed by Federal and sometimes State
aid programs. The theory (actually it's more a hypothesis)
cited in support of this approach is that local tradition
and other barriers to cooperation and coordination of local
government practices can only be solved through directive
and inducement, rather than through locally achieved con-
sensus; through the medium of additional revenues rather
than through academic arguments. This point will be ex-
plored in Chapter V. Prior to such a discussion, however,
it is necessary to examine the vertical relationships of
metropolitan governance as they exist for the planner and
city administrator alike.

Vertical Relationships

Although cooperation between local governmental units
has been slow to mature, the same cannot be said of rela-
tionships between local units of government and those of
higher jurisdiction, especially the Federal government.
Here, the number of linkages has steadily been climbing,
often through frustration in working out closer-to-home
solutions. The results to the planner or administrator, how-
ever, may not appear dissimilar, for frustration in making
these new links work is generally of equal intensity. The
problems are simply those of feast, rather than famine.
Briefly, then, let's examine the traditional and current
character of this relationship.

The State. In our federal system the State is the father
of the municipality and all other jurisdictions within the
boundaries. "Dillon's Rule" that local government is a
creature of the State suggests that local governments have
no powers or authority beyond what their State governments

give them. The powers and authority of local governments
in different States may be quite dissimilar. In fact,
it is important to note that local governments operate in a
specific State-local governmental system which has been
developed by the State. More specifically, local governments
possess a particular mixture of administrative and fiscal
responsibilities assigned them by statute and constitution.
In addition, the State plays a regulatory role over the local
governments' performance of these responsibilities. There
are two ways in which the State-local system can effect the
planning function. One is through the State's control over
the kinds of services local governments provide and the
other is the amount of money available to pay for these ser-
vices. Such control affects the planner's work indirectly.
Public services are a part of the environment for which the
planner is responsible. The State's fiscal controls may also
affect the funds available for the planning function. The
State-local governmental system also directly influences the
planning function by administrative regulations and, to some
extent, by offering technical assistance[118].

     States have a variety of fiscal controls over the local
governments. Most States have statutory and/or constitution-
al limitations on the amount of taxation local governments
may levy and on the amount of money they are allowed to bor-
row. In addition, States specify the sources of revenue
that are available to their local governments. Since local
governments rarely have enough money to pay for all of the
services they need, State financial assistance is another
means of State control over local finances.

     Politicians and some students of American government

have argued that States should not have such extensive con-
trol over local government. Thus, an alternative to the
"creature" theory of local government known as "home rule"
is in effect in many communities[119]. Without home rule
municipalities must get permission from the State legislature
for every possible change in procedure including personnel
regulations, salaries and administrative organization. Lo-
cal governments which have been granted home rule powers
have more freedom in these and other areas. The theory
behind home rule is that individuals create the State govern-
ment for their individual benefit, and therefore, the actions
of the local government should be determined locally. The
need for greater fiscal flexibility and the ability to organ-
ize local government to meet specific local needs are among
the major arguments for home rule. Some opponents of home
rule have stated that the cry for more autonomy for local
government ignores the fact that in metropolitan areas local
governments are highly interdependent. Thus, greater cen-
tralization of authority rather than independence is needed.

One reason for some of the demands for home rule is that
State governments have not been meeting the growing needs
of local governments in urban areas[120]. States have his-
torically favored rural interests in their legislatures.
This was quite appropriate when the United States was a rural
nation. As urbanization and metropolitanism shifted the
nation's population from the farm to the city and suburb,
however, the patterns of representation in State legislatures
remained the same. Some State constitutions, until recently,
have based representation on geographical areas regardless
of the distribution of population. Others have had appor-
tionment formulae which give the more populous communities
relatively less representation. It is not possible at this
point to predict what the impact of the reapportionment of
State legislatures will be[121]. Some have suggested it will
result in a coalition of rural and suburban legislators which

will keep the big cities at a disadvantage. Others have
argued that a more equitable system of representation will
be the result. One thing is clear. The pattern of policies
resulting from the heritage of rural dominance of State
legislatures will not be completely wiped out in a few
legislative sessions[122].

Given the rural bias of State legislatures, it is hardly
surprising that the States have not been very attentive to
the planning of urban areas. Some States have created state
planning agencies which are mainly concerned with the devel-
opment of the State as a whole, however, these agencies have
not been extensively involved with planning at the local
level. Nearly all of the States' technical involvement with
local urban planning agencies has been stimulated by the
Federal government. Federal planning grants are funneled
through the State to the local governments. This Federal
requirement has caused many States to supervise the local
agency's use of Federal funds. At times this supervision
is coupled with some technical assistance[123].

In general, the state enabling statutes control the out-
ward organization and administration of the local planning
agency. In some cases they limit the kinds of activities
the local agency may perform. There are problems with such
comprehensive state laws. The conclusion of a previous sec-
tion that no single type of planning agency organization is
equally appropriate for all communities, would suggest a
need for agency structures which are tailor-made for indi-
vidual situations. Specific statutes outlining the duties
and general operation of the agency do not permit such
flexibility. A further problem is the fact that most state
statutes still reflect "model" ordinances written in 1923.
The statutes themselves are a clear indication that the
States have given little thought to the question of the appro-
priateness of their laws for the needs of today's urban com-
munities. Perhaps as State legislatures are reapportioned

this situation will change. At the present time, however, the role of the States in local urban planning is not very helpful.

Comprehensive planning, usually based upon regional divisions, is now under way in many States. The newest state, Hawaii, was the first to complete a statewide plan. This was followed rapidly by significant efforts in such states as New York, California, Michigan and New Jersey[124]. In Pennsylvania, these new activities have been in large measure responsible for establishment of a department of community development to coordinate all the State's planning assistance programs[125].

Summarizing all these trends, Goodman stressed these aspects of the State's role in local planning affairs[126]:

1. The possible emergence of a clearer hierarchy of responsibilities for planning and development made possible through the exertion of greater leadership by the States either through legislation, financing, or a combination of devices.

2. The opportunity for municipalities to receive increasing assistance from the State in conducting local planning programs.

3. The necessity for local officials to become increasingly alert to the impact of a growing array of State projects and policies on the local area so as to avoid State-local conflicts and to minimize local financial burdens.

4. A likely increase in State regulatory controls over local growth and development for residential areas, industrial areas, etc. Parallel to this will be the need for ever-increasing cooperation and communication among professionals operating at both levels.

The National Government. At the national level the spate of programs produced by recent administrations has had a revolutionary effect upon the scope and context of

urban planning. A major share of the credit for this drama-
tic shift in the traditional definition of federalism is,
of course, the rapid growth of urban populations and prob-
lems, and the inadequacy of State and local responses to the
demands thus created. However, Federal programs affecting
the planning function, both directly and indirectly, have
sometimes worked at cross purposes. Some programs, for
example, have attempted to help cities recover from problems
induced by the movement of people and industries to the
suburbs. Other programs have encouraged this movement[127].
While inconsistencies in the results of Federal programs
have cropped up from time to time, there have been some very
clear trends with respect to the over-all impact of these
programs on the planning function. These trends relate to
the scope of planning being undertaken in cities (the sub-
ject matter of planning) and to the geographical area affected
by local planning policy.

Those Federal programs affecting the scope of planning
have tended to encourage broad planning activities, while
the planning activity of local governments still focuses on
physical development. However, Federal programs are using
grants to encourage localities to enlarge this focus to
include economic and social development as well. A second
thrust of Federal planning programs has been to encourage
the development of meaningful planning policies for entire
metropolitan areas. Early aid to local planning agencies
benefited only small individual municipalities. Recently,
however, strong inducements have been offered to the muni-
cipalities within metropolitan areas to cooperate and develop
coordinated planning policy on a metropolitan-wide basis.

The intent of the Federal programs has not, at this
point, been reflected in local planning policy. Planning
in metropolitan areas today is still largely physically
oriented. Furthermore, the policies are geared to the goals
of individual municiaplities rather than to entire metropoli-

tan areas. Nevertheless, the Federal planning programs have placed considerable pressure on local governments to change the thrust of their planning acitivities.

Grant-In-Aid Programs. Perhaps the most powerful mechanism in this century for reshaping national-state-local relations has been the grant-in-aid system of national financing of State and local activities. It was by far the most significant form of vertical relationship for the planner in today's federal system. The precise number of grant programs that were ever put into operation depends a bit upon one's definition. Using the criterion of separate authorizations, ACIR estimated a total of 530 grant-in-aid programs in 1970 with a dollar volume of $30.3 billion in 1971[128]. Tables III-5 and III-6 illustrate this point.

A grant-in-aid may be defined as money payments furnished by a higher to a lower level of government to be used for specified purposes and subject to conditions spelled out in law or administrative regulation. Grants are thus distinguished from, although first cousins to, the concept of general revenue sharing, which means money given by one level of government to another without advance specification of purpose and without specified conditions—that is, "no strings attached" aid. Grants are very similar to special revenue sharing with the exception that special revenue sharing allocates money in the form of a block grant—monies are designated by general category rather than by specific programs within a category[129].

The historical origins of the grant-in-aid system actually antedate the Constitution. The Land Ordinance of 1785 provided that lot number 16 of each township carved out of Federal lands should be reserved for maintenance of public schools. Although most of the early grants were in the form of land rather than cash, there were a few of the latter kind. In 1808, there was a Congressional appropriation of

Table III-5. Growth of Federal Areawide Programs: 1954-1972.

No.	Name of Program	Federal Agency	Year of Enactment/ Major Amend.
1	Areawide Comp. Plng. Grants (701)	HUD	1954/1965
2	Open Space Grants	HUD	1961
3	Urban Transportation Planning Grants	DOT/FHWA	1962/1970
4	Resource Conservation & Development Loans	USDA/SCS	1962/1966/1970/1972
5	Urban Mass Transportation Planning Grants	DOT/UMTA	1964/1970
6	Community Action Grants (CAP)	OEO	1964
7	Water and Sewer Facilities Grants	HUD	1965
8	Water and Sewer Planning Grants for Rural Communities	USDA/FHA	1965/1972
9	Water and Waste Disposal Systems Grants for Rural Communities	USDA/FHA	1965/1972
10	Regional Medical Program Grants	HEW	1965
11	Economic Develop. Plng. Grants	Commerce/EDA	1965
12	Appalachian Local Devel. Dist. Grants	ARC	1965
13	Solid Waste Plng. Grants	EPA	1965
14	New Communities Land Devel. Mortg. Loan Guarantees Supplemental Grants	HUD	1965/1970
15	Comprehensive Areawide Health Planning Grants	HEW	1966/1967/1970
16	Project Notification & Review Process (A-95)	OMB	1966/1968
17	Air Pollution Control Grants	EPA	1967
18	Manpower Plng. Grants (CAMPS)	Labor	1968
19	Law Enforcement Plng. Grants	Justice/LEAA	1968/1970
20	Airport System Plng. Grants	DOT/FAA	1970
21	Water Quality Management Plng Grants	EPA	1970/1972
22	Rural Development Plng. Grants	USDA/FHA	1972
23	Rural Industrialization Loans & Grants	USDA/FHA	1972
24	Areawide Waste Treatment Management	EPA	1972

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Regional Decision Making: New Strategies for Substate Districts (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 169.

Table III-6. Funding of Federal Areawide Programs (FY 1972 estimates in millions)

Name of Program	Planning Assistance Funds	Capital & Operating Program Funds	Total
Air Pollution Control (EPA)		$42.9(a)	$ 42.9
Airport Systems Planning (DOT)	$15.0	(k)	15.0
Appalachian Development Assistance (ARC)	2.0	64.6	66.6
Areawide Comprehensive Health Planning (HEW 314b)	13.2	(k)	13.2
Areawide Comprehensive Planning Assistance (HUD 701)	35.4 (b)		35.4
Areawide Waste Treatment Management (EPA)	50.0 (c)	5000.0 (a)	5050.0
Community Action (OEO CAP)		342.1	342.1
Economic Development (EDA)	5.5 (d)	142.2	147.7
Law Enforcement Planning (LEAA)	14.0 (d)	(k)	14.0
Manpower Planning (CAMPS)	17.6	(k)	17.6
New Communities (HUD)		212.2 (e)	212.2
Open Space (HUD)	(f)	100.0	100.0
Project Notification and Review (A-95)	0		0
Regional Medical Program (HEW)		140.7 (a)	140.7
Resource Conservation and Development (USDA)	(g)(c)	20.9	20.9
Rural Development Planning (USDA)	10.0 (c)		10.0
Rural Industrialization Assistance (USDA)		100.0 (c)	100.0
Solid Waste Planning Grants (EPA)	3.1	(k)	3.1
Urban Mass Transportation (DOT)	25.0	510.0 (j)	535.0
Urban Transportation Planning (DOT)	22.6	1483.5 (j)	1506.1
Water/Sewer Facilities (HUD)	(f)(h)	200.0	200.0
Water & Sewer Planning for Rural Communities (USDA)	2.0 (h)		2.0
Water & Waste Disposal Systems for Rural Communities (USDA)		40.4	40.4
Water Quality Management Planning (EPA)	5.4 (i)		5.4
TOTALS	$220.8	$8399.5	$8620.3

Source: Office of Management and Budget, Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance, Sixth Edition (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

Table III-6. Continued.

a   Planning funds are included, but the use of funds for this purpose is determined by individual grantees.

b   The total appropriation is $100 million, but much of it goes for local and statewide planning, rather than for areawide or regional planning.

c   Grant authorizations enacted for FY 1973.

d   This represents 40 percent of the $35 million which the States receive.

e   The $9.8 million in supplemental grants included here was subject to OMB spending constraints.

f   Planning for these programs is assisted under Areawide Comprehensive Planning Assistance (701).

g   Planning for this program is provided through Federal technical assistance.

h   These grants are made to areawide bodies whenever possible, but are often made to single counties.

i   This program will no longer be funded, now that the Areawide Waste Treatment Management Program has been established.

j   Estimated on the basis that the planning funds equal 1.5 percent of the total available in the urban areas subject to areawide planning.

k   The related "hardware" programs have been omitted because they are separate from their planning programs and are not usually thought of as areawide programs or allocated through areawide organizations.

of $200,000 to assist the development of the State militia;
and the early 1800's also saw cash aid for railroads and
canals, supplementing the very large land grants given to
the railroads. By 1915, the dollar volume of cash grants
had only reached $5 million. The major categories were
agricultural extension, highways, and (after 1917) vocational
education. From World War I to the New Deal these programs
amounted to about $100 million annually. During the New
Deal there was a spurt in grant programs with the new Federal
aid being associated with social security programs of public
assistance and unemployment agencies, aid for State and local
planning and, in 1937, the first public housing program,
under which the Federal government provided long-term loans
for State and local housing authorities to construct low-
rent housing and grants for slum clearance[130].

The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
planning programs as they are known today are a direct out-
growth of the 1949 Urban Renewal Act, the first major Federal
effort to affect the pattern of urban development. The
Urban Renewal Act was the first Federal legislation that
required a determination by the local governing body that
a Federally aided housing proposal must conform to the gen-
eral plan of the locality. The requirement of a local plan
assumed the existence of some local planning capability.
It soon became apparent that smaller communities could not
finance such a planning operation even for the duration of
a specific renewal project, and this provided the stimulus
for some form of Federal assistance[131].

In 1953 President Eisenhower's Advisory Committee on
Government Housing Policies and Programs recommended that
grants be made on a matching basis to State or metropolitan
area governmental planning agencies to cover the cost of
technical assistance for small cities and towns and for
metropolitan regions within the States. Congress subsequent-
ly enacted the Section 701 Comprehensive Planning Assistance

program as part of the Housing Act of 1954[132].

Soon after the initiation of the urban renewal program, it appeared that other areas of the city began to decay as rapidly as the renewal area progressed. Therefore, a requirement for a Workable Program for Community Improvement was established to prevent further blight by adopting housing and building codes and establishing an effective planning capability. Section 701 planning funds were made available to assist communities in meeting many of the Workable Program requirements.

The Housing Act of 1961 established the first of the areawide planning requirements to be satisfied prior to obtaining a Federal grant, in this case for open space land acquisition in urban areas. The Act required that the planned open space be part of the comprehensively planned development of the area. The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 further strengthened metropolitan and local planning. The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 stipulated areawide planning requirements in issuing basic sewer and water facilities grants. A final stimulus to urban planning in metropolitan areas came from the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1962, which required that programs for highway construction in urban areas not be approved unless they formed part of a continuing comprehensive transportation planning process carried on cooperatively with States and localities[133].

The 1965 amendments to Section 701 widened the assistance program so that for the first time metropolitan and regional groups became eligible for financial support. The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 created the Model Cities program and, concomitantly, some new approaches to planning assistance. The program included considerable funding to assist localities in developing planning capability. In addition, Section 204 of the same Act required review of applications for Federal loans and grants, thus anticipating the Intergovernmental Coopera-

tion Act of 1968, which further developed coordination re-
quirements by establishing the Office of Management and
Budget (OMB) A-95 review procedure. The Intergovernmental
Cooperation Act established a "network of State, regional
and metropolitan planning and development clearinghouses"
to coordinate and evaluate the use of Federal funds. In
practice, although A-95 has given considerable emphasis to
a regional or metropolitan scope for planning, actual review
and coordination are often more a matter of sentiment than
of substance[134].

The 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act had three
major effects on planning: (1) The definition of compre-
hensive planning was broadened to include planning for the
provision of government services and for the development of
human and natural resources; (2) a housing element, including
local plans to expand and/or improve the housing stock,
would be required as part of any 701 planning program; and
(3) the 701 planning assistance program was revised to pro-
vide grants to State planning agencies so that they might
assist in nonmetropolitan planning[135].

Planning requirements and assistance have continued to
evolve in the 1970's. The Housing and Community Development
Act of 1974 reflects a movement toward incorporating most
of HUD's nonhousing categorical grant programs into block
grants. Under Title I of the Act, the previous categories
of community development programs, i.e., urban renewal, water
and sewer grants, Model Cities, rehabilitation loans, pub-
lic facility loans, open space land, neighborhood facilities,
urban beautification, and historic preservation programs,
are consolidated. Funds in the form of block grants are
allocated on a formula based on population, overcrowded
housing, and poverty (counted twice) to cities of more than
50,000 population and urban counties. To secure funding,
a community must file an annual application which provides
the following[136]:

1. A three-year plan of community development needs
and goals, and an overall strategy for meeting those needs
consistent with area-wide planning and the national urban
growth policy.

2. A program to eliminate or prevent slums, blight,
and deterioration, and provide improved community facilities
and improvements.

3. A housing assistance plan, compliance with civil
rights laws, and providing for citizen participation. Fur-
ther, the community must certify compliance with environmental
standards.

Funding started January 1, 1975, with $2.5 billion ear-
marked for community development in FY 1975, and $2.95 billion
in each of fiscal years 1976 and 1977. Up to $50 million
for each of the first two years and $100 million for the
third year are authorized for providing transition grants
to communities with urgent needs that cannot be met through
other allocations of the Act[137].

With this brief history as background, a more detailed
look at three Federal programs designed to upgrade local
capabilities to plan and manage is warranted: Section 204
and A-95 reviews; HUD Annual Arrangements and Planned Varia-
tions; and the Housing and Community Development Act. These
programs illustrate the evolving and current concepts of
Federal grants in general and an assessment of the implica-
tions of these procedures in building local and metropolitan
planning capabilities. This will be necessary in order to
develop arguments for fiscal support of alternative govern-
ment structures.

Section 204 and A-95. The passage of the Demonstration
Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (the Model
Cities legislation) brought the first statutory mechanism
for reviewing and coordinating the use at regional, metro-
politan and local levels of Federal grants-in-aid. Section

204 of the Act stipulated that applications for Federal funds be submitted for reviews "to any areawide agency which is designated to perform metropolitan or regional planning for the area within which the assistance is to be used[138]". In practice, HUD usually designated the existing regional, county, or metropolitan planning body to review applications, and implementation of Section 204 provisions became a responsibility of the Bureau of the Budget.

The quality of the reviews and procedures that grew out of Section 204 was generally not high. Review and coordination were only as good as the quality of areawide planning, which was generally not adequate; neither the Bureau of the Budget nor any areawide agency established adequate criteria and procedures for review; staffs for handling the review were inadequate at both the local and Federal levels; and Section 204 applied only to metropolitan areas. Yet Section 204 did inspire the proliferation of areawide planning bodies with responsibilities for review functions[139].

Section 401 of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act in 1968 largely superseded Section 204. Title IV of the Act stipulated that "the President shall...establish rules and regulations governing the formulation, evaluation, and review of Federal programs and projects having a significant impact on area and community development, including programs providing Federal assistance to the States and localities...".

The Office of Management and Budget, successor to the Bureau of the Budget, was assigned responsibility for implementing this government-wide review procedure; in 1969, it issued Circular A-95, which spells out the process: (See Figure III-6.)

> The circular sought to stimulate a "network of State, regional and metropolitan planning and development clearinghouses" to receive and disseminate information about proposed projects; to coordinate between applicants for Federal assistance; to act as a liaison between Federal agencies contemplating Federal development projects; and to conduct an "evaluation of the State,
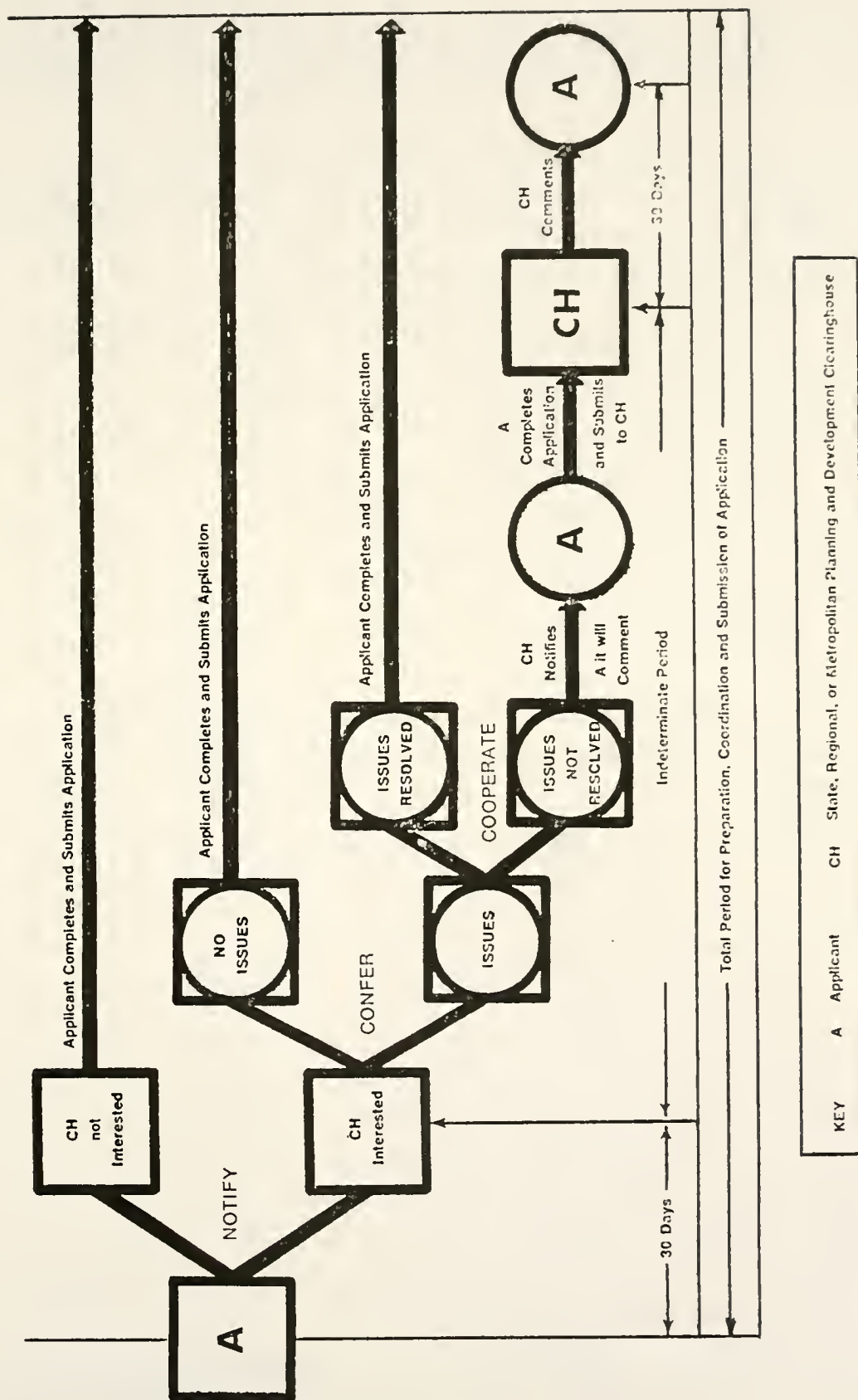
Figure III-6. The Project Notification and Review System.

regional, or metropolitan significance of Federal or Federally-assisted projects[140]".

A-95 procedures have largely been implemented at the regional and metropolitan levels by councils of governments (COG's) that serve as the clearinghouses. State governments have also established clearinghouses[141].

Most HUD program applications are now admitted to the A-95 process by virtue of having a potentially "significant impact on area and community development". Further, though A-95 is an OMB process, the COG's, which are the instruments of A-95, are largely creatures of HUD 701 planning funds.

A-95 procedures are designed as a screen to ensure comprehensive planning. However, the project-by-project review and comment process of A-95 precludes a broad initiating role in comprehensive planning for A-95 reviewers. Furthermore, because of its frequent poor quality and small quantity, local comprehensive planning is an inadequate yardstick for measuring applications for Federal or Federally-assisted projects. The absence of good comprehensive planning to serve as a basis for judging applications under A-95 procedures has lessened the need to make harsh decisions. This may well account for the uncontroversial nature of A-95's widespread implementation.

Although A-95 is a Federally imposed procedure for review and coordination, Federal support of the program has been inadequate. Neither OMB nor any other Federal agency provides special funds to support review and comment activities beyond the HUD 701 support of planning staff. Neither the A-95 circular nor OMB define performance criteria. Moreover, Federal agencies concerned with their own programs have often failed to follow recommendations of local reviewers about funding decisions[142].

For these reasons, the A-95 program lacks political force. The review process has not been an effective tool

for securing interjurisdictional planning. Federal support
of the review process has been insufficient to ensure cooper-
ation and planning among local jurisdictions[143].

The history of A-95 provides ample illustration of the
magnitude of the effort required to bring problem and juris-
dictional boundaries into alignment. In fact, A-95 was
instituted as an effort to overcome the detrimental effects,
on planning, of institutional fragmentation. While A-95
procedures may be an important step in the right direction,
by their very nature they will not result in more than nega-
tive review, which may force some plan modification. Be-
cause of this essentially negative approach, A-95 can prob-
ably never be an instrument for political cooperation in
formulating solutions. Thus, the very limited effectiveness
of A-95, even when it is working well, points up the incon-
gruity between the problem and jurisdictional scope.

HUD Annual Arrangements and Planned Variations[144]. In
order to develop some experience with greater local freedom
pending revenue-sharing legislation, HUD has recently in-
stituted two administrative arrangements designed to increase
the responsibilities of city governments. In 1971, it
initiated the Annual Arrangements process whereby HUD and
the local government negotiate annually concerning the city's
needs and arrive at preliminary agreement on a total package
of HUD programs to address the problems identified. This
process is intended to bolster the power and authority of the
chief executive (who chairs the local effort) and to achieve
local coordination of HUD-assisted programs. One hundred
and ten cities are operating under Annual Arrangements[145].

Planned Variations is a similar arrangement that operates
exclusively in Model Cities, although—unlike Annual Arrange-
ments—planning monies are made available to Planned Variations
cities from Model Cities program funds. Twenty Model Cities
are operating under the two-year demonstration, which also

places responsibility for determining needs and establishing
priorities on the chief executive. The process encourages
coordinated and more rapid responses from the Federal Regional
Councils as well as areawide strategies for problem solving.
Designed to breathe new life into the Model Cities program,
Planned Variations grew out of recommendations of the Presi-
dent's Domestic Council. "It is also the frontrunner of
such significant initiatives as Community Development revenue
sharing and General Revenue Sharing[146]".

The Planned Variations program may take three different
forms[147]: (1) Citywide Model Cities in which cities are
given additional dollars to expand their Model Cities pro-
grams to cover all or at least more of their deteriorated
areas; (2) Chief Executive Review and Comment (CERC), which
gives the local chief executive stronger coordinative powers
through the right to review and comment on all applications
for Federally-assisted programs; and (3) Minimization of
Review procedures on the part of Federal agencies. Of the
20 Planned Variations cities, 16 are "full variations cities"
receiving $157.2 million to participate, while the remaining
4 are participating in the CERC variation only, receiving
$1.6 million.

Both processes are so new that very little evaluation
of their efforts has been done. After a year of operation,
the HUD-sponsored evaluation of Annual Arrangements[148] sug-
gests at least that the process is developing stronger link-
ages between community development and housing programs.
Further, HUD concludes that all Annual Arrangements have
included some actions taken by the community to further
stated national goals and the Federal interest. While HUD
area offices appear to be honoring project commitments made
as part of the Annual Arrangements agreement, processing of
applications has rarely been expedited. The Annual Arrange-
ments process has prompted cities to reorganize for better
program control and fund utilization. However, the degree

of local chief executive involvement in the negotiations and agreements has not been as great as anticipated[149].

The HUD-sponsored review of Planned Variations[150] suggests a mixed Federal response within HUD and from other agencies. Although Planned Variations, and especially CERC, is stimulating cities to develop a central policy and program coordinating mechanism, implementation has been slow. Yet all of the Planned Variations cities have taken steps to improve the local chief executive's management capability through reorganization and additional staffing. In "full variation cities", Model Cities programs have been expanded, and the role of the chief executive has become stronger. At the same time, citizen participation has been relegated to an advisory position and represents a smaller proportion of the budget. Finally, Planned Variations has not been more than minimally effective in providing State and county government support for the program.

At this stage, Planned Variations and Annual Arrangements have limited value for study as precursors to revenue sharing. The processes are too new to permit conclusive findings. As in the case of Model Cities, these processes lack the authority to compel cooperation both within HUD and from other agencies. Nevertheless, both programs have had partial success in reducing Federal contraints upon local decision-making and in bolstering the role of the local chief executive[151].

The discrepancy most amply illustrated by Planned Variations and Annual Arrangements concerns goals, objectives, and priorities that are not shared. Although these programs were designed to minimize Federal intervention in planning and priority-setting, the Project Selection System(PSS) was superimposed upon the localities' freedom to select their own programs. PSS was HUD's method of ensuring that the localities would pursue its goals—chiefly the construction of integrated and low-income housing. Use of PSS therefore

clearly reflects HUD's own judgment that the localities are unlikely to share Federal goals or to assign them the priority that HUD would wish[152].

The ambivalence that leads to a self-contradictory policy of enhancing local power to set priorities while imposing Federal priorities is likely to continue until experience with revenue sharing can overcome the fears that prompt attempts at Federal control. HUD's earlier behavior suggests that considerable frustration might result after the passage of special revenue-sharing legislation unless this ambivalence is faced and dealt with.

Special Revenue Sharing. In 1973, the Nixon administration proposed to consolidate some 70 categorical grant programs into four special revenue sharing programs. One of the four, the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, was signed by President Ford into law on August 22, 1974. The Act does not affect HUD's subsidized housing programs, but in effect replaces seven separately funded categorical grant programs. By folding these programs into a single special revenue sharing program to be administered by HUD, the Community Development Act will provide a total of $11.9 billion of shared revenues to cities, urban counties, and States for community development activities[153].

Activities for which a community would be permitted to use its shared revenues provided under the Act include any community development activity permitted under the seven categorical programs. These are broadly defined as acquisition, clearance, and renewal of real property and land; relocation payments and assistance to persons and businesses; purchase and development of open space, historic sites, parks, and playgrounds; building of streets, malls, neighborhood and community centers, recreation areas, and other public facilities, including water and sewer facilities; rehabilitation of residential or commercial properties;

elimination of harmful physical conditions that endanger
health or safety; and provision of community services con-
sidered necessary to carry out the community development
objectives of the particular community. The funds may also
be used to meet local matching requirements of other Federal
community development programs[154].

A hold-harmless provision contained in the bill is
designed to assure that metropolitan cities and urban coun-
ties that have been receiving more from categorical programs
than their annual entitlement would not receive less in
the years immediately following enactment. The hold-harmless
amount is calculated on the average amount received by the
city or urban county under the relevant categorical programs
during the five fiscal years ending prior to July 1, 1972.
The hold-harmless amount would be granted for two years, and
in the succeeding three years the grant would be cut by
one-third each year of the excess of the hold-harmless amount
over the entitlement amount. Smaller communities that are
neither metropolitan cities nor urban counties and therefore
are not eligible for an annual entitlement are also protected
by hold-harmless provisions, if they had ongoing Model
Cities, Neighborhood Development, or Urban Renewal programs
funded in the last five years[155].

It is pointless what with funding under the provisions
of the Act having only begun—January 1975—to attempt an
empirical analysis of the impact of special revenue sharing
in relation to its intent. However, several points and
arguments can be posited after careful examination of the
Act's provisions.

Community development special revenue sharing represents
no increase in funds over former HUD appropriations for the
programs being folded into block grants[156]. Therefore, in
terms of total impact upon community development problems,
special revenue sharing will not make a greater monetary
contribution than did the overstrained categorical programs.

However, the relatively greater freedom of the localities to allocate special revenue sharing monies should enable them to concentrate expenditures where problems are perceived to be the greatest.

The allocation of $110 million for planning and management assistance is seriously insufficient. The nature of revenue sharing poses much larger local planning and management problems than did the categorical grants procedures, yet only marginal increases are planned in funds for Federal assistance. Revenue sharing will increase both the amount and range of responsibility left to localities. As a result, revenue sharing will intensify the need for improved local planning and management capabilities relative to that present under former Federal programs relying on categorical grants-in-aid. This added demand on planning can be expected to point up deficiencies in present capabilities, especially with respect to the disparities between ends, means, and points of view as discussed in Chapter II. Disparities between the capability to plan and to manage should become more obvious, and scarcity of resources for planning and decision-making can also be expected to be felt more acutely. Yet, under the present legislation, less help is being offered to meet the new challenges than has been available under the old programs. Therefore, it is apparent that without serious attention to planning and management capabilities, the special revenue sharing effort is frivolous.

The failure of the Community Development Act to provide support for areawide and metropolitan organizations leaves the implication that the Federal government is willing to abandon past efforts concerning the survival of these institutions[157]. The failure to stress coordinative planning, could be interpreted as an abandonment of a modest but growing Federal commitment to such planning considerations. While appropriations to councils of governments and other multijurisdictional organizations have never been large, 70l

support to areawide institutions has steadily increased. Al-
though the inadequacy of past efforts to alleviate the prob-
lems of areawide planning is readily apparent, that is cer-
tainly no basis upon which to suggest a diminished Federal
concern.

In conclusion, special revenue sharing, as a mode of
Federal financial assistance to localities, offers new oppor-
tunities to allocate resources to what are locally perceived
as the most serious problems. At the same time, however,
the Community Development Act continues to carry on the
tradition of magniloquent, rhetoric and niggardly resources
established in the 1960's. Recognizing the fact of life
in all fields of domestic social and economic policy that
there simply aren't enough resources to go around, does not
preclude stating that the amounts authorized under special
revenue sharing are grossly inadequate for dealing with the
array of metropolitan problems. Unless future increases in
the funds are to be made available, much of the promise of
the new revenue sharing approach will inevitably go unful-
filled.

Summary. Planning will have to learn how best to cope
with the fiscal realities of the "New Federalism". The
scope of urban planning under the new fiscal imperatives,
some of them as yet more potential than actual, remains to
be determined, but the general outlines can be discerned and
the careers of both the categorical-grant and revenue-sharing
type of planner may well be subject to further truncation.

The fiscal roots of the New Federalism are quite pos-
sibly more compeling in its formulation than its ideological
roots as represented by the Nixon administration. Charac-
terizing the fiscal situation leading to "reform" in New-
Federalism terms are the following:

1. Continued reliance by both local and State govern-
ments on revenues from the Federal government to perform
the tasks and services demanded by the voters;

2. An increasing scarcity of discretionary funds at all levels of government, as larger shares of available funds went to segregated trust funds, to special districts and authorities operating on a metropolitan basis, to continuing programs (especially related to welfare and social security), and to salaries for certain classes of civil servants (especially teachers, policemen and firemen);

3. Increasing disparities in fiscal capacity among governments in metropolitan areas, a situation making it increasingly difficult to obtain political consensus for implementation of important metropolitan-wide policies;

4. Increasing concern that built-in inflationary forces would tilt the balance of fiscal federalism irrevocably toward the Federal government;

5. Increasing disenchantment with the effectiveness of many categorical grant programs combined with displeasure in certain quarters with the substance of these programs and with the feeling that the fiscal power of the Federal government gave it excessive influence over local choices.

It is to the credit of the urban planning profession that many of these characteristics of fiscal imbalance were first described and documented by planners interested in getting more comprehensiveness, cohesiveness, and social responsibility into the intergovernmental system. Having done so much, they will have to learn to live with their success.

In sum, the fiscal content of the New Federalism, when stripped of its ideological wrapping, can be defined as a series of measures that seem to suit the public's mood for improvement in the intergovernmental system that formerly provided for widespread discontent. These corrective measures, that collectively represent a change in our methods of operating a federal system, include the following:

1. An emphasis on enhancement of the power of general purpose governments, giving them fiscal resources and greater

control over special districts;

    2. An emphasis on enhancement of the power of a chief executive within general purpose government to determine policy, while simultaneously restricting the resources given to subordinate agencies in the form of categorical grants;

    3. An emphasis on redistribution of nonproperty taxes by formula from higher to lower governments, combined with a variety of methods for decreasing reliance on taxation of real property; and,

    4. An emphasis on consolidation of categorical grants into block grants covering a multitude of purposes and client groups, combined with increasing interest in subsidizing individuals directly rather than subsidizing local governments.

    The theory of symbiosis between a fiscal system and urban planning suggests that the previously described adjustments to the federal system will have an impact on the scope of planning. The evidence cited in this chapter of the various changes in the planning environment currently taking place continues to support that theory. The implications of these changes tend to reinforce the trend of thought as witnessed in much of the recent planning theory literature—the scope of urban planning has been enlarged, and theories of the planning process have become more "generic", a term that describes the freeing of the profession from its early servitude to property-related concerns[158].

    While local planning commissions and urban renewal agencies were important in the era of Standard Planning[159], decisions are now being made in the "office of the Mayor" by budget and management analysts who spend more effort on the programming and budgeting aspect of their Planning, Programming and Budgeting Systems (PPBS) than on the "planning" aspect.

    Where formerly funds for planning could be obtained by a local planning unit (or by a metropolitan agency), under

the "701" or CRP programs by application directly to the
Federal government, the New Federalism approach will establish
the State government as the disbursing agent. Thus a local
form of urban planning has lost one degree of fiscal auto-
nomy and may not survive the gauntlet of review of an appli-
cation by State officials.

The five-year experiment in General Revenue Sharing is
still underway, but experience in the early years of the
program justify at least two conclusions; First, planners
had very little to say about how such funds were to be spent;
and secondly, only miniscule amounts (perhaps none) were
allocated to urban-planning-type studies or operations.
Thus, while the General Revenue Sharing system represents
an attempt to lessen dependence of local government on the
property tax, it also represents a decrease in the status
of the planner in practice, if not in theory[160].

One special revenue sharing program has been enacted,
specifically the Housing and Community Development Act of
1974. As a fiscal measure, it would operate by formula
(instead of local initiative) to provide funds for a wide
variety of dissimilar programs, with few funds earmarked for
the planning aspects of these programs and no requirements
that any planning process must be adhered to. Moreover,
the locus of operational responsibility will pass from spec-
ialized agencies to the chief executive of the local govern-
ment (assisted by a staff of policy advisors); whether urban
planning will contribute to this process of decision making
is the issue.

Allied to these Federally-inspired approaches for im-
proving intergovernmental relations are other important
concepts, among them (1) the metropolitanization of planning,
(2) the pressure for areawide approaches to reorganize local
governments and for tax-base sharing on a metropolitan level,
(3) the establishment of environmental and land use controls
under State supervision, and (4) an increase in the res-

ponsibility of State government over education, finance, health planning, environmental conditions, and many other areas. Thus, as the fiscal structure in a given State adjusts to the new centers of power and responsibility, the locus and definition of planning must also adjust.

Conclusion

The governmental context of planning is a second important part of the service aspect of planning policy formulation. The formal position of the planning agency in the local public bureaucracy is one facet of planning's governmental context. It is not clear how one form of agency organization versus another actually influences the effectiveness of planning. It appears, on the basis of the evidence cited herein, that no single form of agency structure works best under all circumstances. The structure of government in operation within a given community, however, does determine the formal lines of communication between the planner and the rest of the government. The evidence posited by Wright[161] showed a high degree of congruence among the responses of chief executives and planning directors with regard to the responsibilities of the planning agency. But this same evidence also suggested a converse and more general conclusion: The nature of urban planning, as defined by activities performed and functional roles, is the result of forces quite dissimilar from types of planning organization. This conclusion suggests that structure is not a "powerful" variable in accounting for variations in more objective performance-based activities. Thus, the influence of the formal organization of the planning agency should be analyzed, but on an individual community basis.

Intergovernmental relations is another important aspect of the governmental context of planning. Federal-State-local relations determine the basic legal framework under which the planner operates. Two types of relationships were dis-

cussed: those relations between identified levels of government, termed horizontal relationships; and relationships between various levels or tiers of government, termed vertical relationships.

Horizontal relationships among officials of different levels of government have been seriously hampered by the historical proliferation of governmental units. This phenomenon has created serious difficulties for local governments in their attempts to cope with metropolitan or areawide problems. The results of their attempts have been less than satisfactory and in general have prompted many efforts to reorganize government so as to combat (1) fragmentation and overlapping of governmental units, (2) disparities between tax and service boundaries, (3) State constitutional and statutory restrictions, (4) ineconomies of scale, and (5) ineffective nandling and, thus, poor performance of urban service functions.

This chapter examined the relative strengths and weaknessess of eight major alternative forms of metropolitan reorganization that have been utilized in this country in attempting to overcome the problems associated with metropolitanization. In conclusion, a number of generalizations can be drawn from the previous analysis of these different approaches, and the record of the use that has been made of them.

1. There is no best single approach to governmental reorganization that is applicable to all conditions and times. Every metropolitan area has to consider its own peculiar needs and situation when fashioning its reorganization plan.

2. The various approaches studied are not mutually exclusive, and can be used to supplement one another. The joint exercise of powers and intergovernmental service agreements appears to be a useful approach that could be utilized in almost every metropolitan area, even if following the adoption of a more comprehensive reorganization, such as

city-county consolidation.

3. Use of the milder approaches may prove adequate to meet the need for governmental reorganization in some metropolitan areas on an interim basis. Thus, they could serve as stepping stones to more comprehensive approaches if such approaches are warranted. In fact, the use of these approaches may reduce the need or pressure for a more comprehensive approach to reorganizing local government.

4. Annexation continues to show vitality in many of the metropolitan areas of the country, although it is no longer of much usefulness as an approach to reorganization of local government in the larger, older metropolitan areas. It has been used as a separate approach or in conjunction with other approaches. The negligible use of annexation in the largest urban centers is due to the fact that the central cities are completely surrounded by incorporated territory.

5. Limited purpose metropolitan special districts have proven useful in dealing with urgent special problems of a metropolitan character in the face of the failure of more traditional comprehensive approaches to provide feasible alternatives. However, they have attributes which seriously undermine vigorous local government—they diffuse and weaken citizen interest and control, and erode the strength and importance of general purpose governments.

6. City-county consolidations, which were largely used to accomplish major expansions of jurisdictions before 1900, have shown recent limited potential as a method of governmental reorganization. Its major weakness—limited usefulness in handling metropolitan problems in areas not confined to a single county—will probably prevent it from being an extensively used reform approach. It had its greatest period of impact and usefulness before the automobile accelerated urban sprawl, and before municipal home rule became effective in protecting the boundaries and powers of the great number of units of government that grew up around

the major cities.

7. The federation approach has led to increasing in-
terest in two broad techniques which, when fully developed,
incorporate two common basic elements: a two-tier structure
of government, and the assignment of certain general-purpose
responsibilities to both tiers. Functions not assigned to
the areawide government are retained by the municipalities
or are shared jointly by both tiers. The two basic hybrid
approaches containing these features and which exhibit a
reasonable degree of politcal feasibility are the general
purpose areawide approach of the urban county and the instru-
mentality approach. The true federation approach, favorably
regarded by many scholars, lacks political and public accep-
tance within this country.

The foregoing analysis and general conclusions concern-
ing alternative governmental structures does not establish
an adequate basis upon which to conclude that any one or
all of these two-level approaches are the best comprehensive
solutions to the problem of government reform. The develop-
ment of a theory of government structure and an evaluation
and testing of that theory using valid criteria that relate
to a framework of assignment for urban service functions,
such as planning, must be attempted. The theoretical dic-
tates of the ensuant model would afford planners with addi-
tional information related to the formulation of metropolitan
planning policy and the assignment of planning functions.
This is one major aspect of Chapter V. However, before this
theoretical analysis can be attempted, it is necessary to
explore into the politcal aspects and ramifications of plan-
ning on a metropolitan basis. This is the subject matter of
the following chapter.

The vertical intergovernmental relationships depicted
within this chapter were largely of two kinds: those that
exist between the State and local governments, and those be-
tween the Federal and local governments. The States have
not paid much attention to the planning done by their local

governments. The historical rural bias of the State legis-
latures may partially explain the State's lack of concern
with local planning. States through their constitutions
and statutes have considerable legal leverage over the opera-
tions of local planning agencies. In most States the legis-
lation governing these agencies dates back to the 1928 "Model
Planning Enabling Act". The States' planning enabling sta-
tutes, largely based on the "model", tend to be very detailed
and generally inhibit local flexibility in the administration
of the planning function.

A recent report of the Advisory Commission on Intergov-
ernmental Relations[162] which examined in depth the prob-
lems, issues, and solution alternatives concerning the chal-
lenges confronting both State and local governments in attemp-
ting to modernize archaic governmental institutions, placed
the burden of responsibility for any future policy actions
squarely on the shoulders of the States. Their specific
recommendations as regards the State Role are contained
for the reader's information in Appendix A of this report.
The author agrees entirely with these recommendations for
the time being. It is possible that conclusions to be derived
from the subsequent analysis of Chapter V may warrant some
extensions to these recommendations. However, it is highly
unlikely that any of ACIR's recommendations will sharply dis-
agree with those of this report.

Planning as a profession has, just as have other urban
service functions, been hampered by the lack of sound poli-
tical leadership and effective policies from State government
that would promote a more effective and efficient conduct and
delivery of required urban planning services. A recent
statement, accompanying the aforementioned recommendations of
ACIR, adequately depicts the nature of this situation[163]:

> All these efforts are geared to facilitating the mod-
> ernization of local and areawide governmental institu-
> tions, so that they may discharge their servicing res-
> ponsibilities to their respective communities in a more

effective, equitable, efficient, and accountable man-
ner. The primary burden for leadership in this matter
is placed on the States. This is as it should be.
States no longer can assume the role of the passive by-
stander in this vital matter. Given the plethora of
programs, mechanisms, and special purpose bodies that
have by-passed or superseded general local governments,
it does not overstate the case to claim that the exist-
ence of such local governments, as we have known them,
is very much at stake. At this juncture, the State,
as the legal parents of the localities and of many of
the institutions that compete with them, must assume an
active stance, as some States recently have done. The
localities obviously have a role here, and a comple-
mentary Federal role could be of critical help. In
the final analysis, however, the electorate has the
final word on all major reforms advanced here. But,
the initiating thrust must come from the States and
such is the basic assumption undergirding this recom-
mendation.

The Federal government has held considerably more influ-

ence over local planning policy and practice than the State

governments. This influence evolved out of a series of urban

programs involving categorical grants-in-aid. Most of those

grants went directly to local governments with the primary

objective being to encourage a broader scope of planning

that covered an entire metropolitan area. However, the evi-

dence cited in this chapter (and amply documented in pre-

viously cited sources), indicates that physical planning has

predominated despite recent attempts at emphasizing the social

and economic aspects of planning in urban areas. Communities

tended to make one-shot studies rather than engage in a con-

tinuing planning process as recommended by HUD within the

confines of its categorical grants programs. Little effort

was made to integrate planning with local decision making,

although one emphasis in the HUD 701 Handbook was upon the

development of management capability and thus suggests at

least partial recognition of this problem. A heavy reliance

upon outside consultants, especially in the smaller localities

that could not afford to support a planning staff, is indica-

tive of this tendency.

The recent advent of general and special revenue sharing as a replacement for the former grant-in-aid system of fiscal Federal-local dependence has shifted the locus of priority-setting from the national to the local level. Thus, the possibility of a continuing gap between stated program goals at the national level and the realities of local administration will be strengthened simply because of the existing incongruity between the goals and priorities at the national and local levels of government.

Special revenue sharing proposals rely on existing units of government rather than on nontraditional arrangements such as metropolitan organizations or decentralized units within a large city. However, it is clearly evident that many of the problems that planners have been and will be facing transcend traditional political boundaries. In metropolitan areas especially, the situation is one of fragmented jurisdictions with widely disparate resources confronting coherent problems that ignore jurisdictional boundaries. Thus, an important criterion for planning capability under the New Federalism and special revenue sharing will be the ability of State and local planning entities to escape these artificial geographical boundaries and, through coordination procedures or otherwise, make the scope of planning match the scope of the problem. At the same time, however, recent changes in the fiscal system are liberating State and local executives from the burden of urban planning:

1. Fewer categorical-grant programs with their requirements for "planning" means that more money is available for discretionary use by chief executives within State and local governments;

2. Larger amounts of funds distributed from income and sales tax revenues implies less concern over the relationship between planning and the property tax base; and

3. To whatever extent that federal funds designated for planning (of the kind that has supported the profession

in recent years) will be available in the future, the likelihood is that they will be under the control of the State executives, who in turn may disburse them to metropolitan and local agencies.

Planning theory itself may not change in the process, for the profession still needs to wrestle intelligently with such questions as how to define and choose between alternatives, how to encourage and better utilize citizen participation, what is to be included in a cost-benefit analysis, what is the meaning of "urban design", and so on.

It is the scope of urban planning as it is practiced in the field that is the major issue at the present time. Funds for planning will be more at the pleasure of chief executives than in the tranquil days of categorical grants with their planning requirements and of separate funds for planning as was indicative of the "701" programs. Not only do local chief executives have a poor track record in terms of their recognition or appreciation of planning (much preferring a decision making process that maximizes short-term gains), but city mayors, managers and councils alike are finding their power bases draining away to State-wide and metropolitan-wide agencies under the thumb of higher-level chief executives.

In sum, economic efficiency of the local fiscal system was the mainspring of the urban planning fetus during its embryonic stages. As that efficiency-system sowed the seeds of its own destruction, creating a demand for equity and redistribution in the name of social justice, the categorical-grant fiscal system altered the scope of planning. Now a new fiscal system, characterized by non-categorical grants and non-property-based funds in the hands of elected public officials operating more at the State and regional levels than at the local level, has severed the "umbilical cord" of older forms of urban planning and conjured up an image of policy-makers freed from the constraints of land-based tax-

ation.

The preceding analysis and discussion of Federal-local
fiscal relationships suggest that urban planning at the local
level will diminish until the fiscal wheel turns again to
make those public officials responsible for policy and deci-
sion making dependent upon revenues derived from, and with
the consent of, those who live and work in the affected
local area. Whether that time will come, with some new form
of local fiscal autonomy emerging out of the State-level
cocoon in which the New Federalism has been placed, is un-
certain. The only certainty is that the form of the fiscal
system, the structure of urban government and the scope of
urban planning are inextricably linked.

Notes

1. The subordination of local to state governments is
    shown in the lack of specific provision for local gov-
    ernments in the U.S. Constitution; by the acceptance in
    many state courts of "Dillon's rule", which limits
    local government powers to those explicitly provided
    for by state constitutions and statutes; and by the
    failure of local governments to raise sufficient reve-
    nues to meet their citizens' service demands, even when
    their jurisdictions include abundant private wealth.
    For a more extensive coverage of the relations between
    cities and states, see John H. Baker, Urban Politics In
    America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp.
    28-51.

2. Charles Adrian and Charles Press, Governing Urban Ameri-
    ca (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1968), pp.
    230-236.

3. Robert L. Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics
    and Public Policy (New York: Harper & Row Publishers,
    Inc., 1971), p. 120.

4. International City Management Association (ICMA), Muni-
    cipal Yearbook, 1974, eds. Richard Hofrichter and Emily
    Evershed (Washington: The Association, 1974), Table 3.

5. A good discussion of the council-manager form may be
    found in Banfield and Wilson, City Politics, pp. 168-
    186. The material presented here is, in part, based on

that discussion.

6. Robert L. Lineberry and Edmund Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities", American Political Science Review, vol. 61 (September 1967), pp. 704-706.

7. U.S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, Governance and Population: The Governmental Implications of Population Change, ed. A. E. K. Nash, vol. IV (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 46-49.

8. Lineberry and Fowler, "American Cities", pp. 700-716, and the literature cited there.

9. U.S. Department of Commerce, The Standard City Planning Enabling Act (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1928).

10. Charles R. Adrian, Governing Urban America (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961), pp. 180-188.

11. Berkeley, California has such an arrangement. Its operations are described and evaluated in : T. J. Kent, The Urban General Plan (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964).

12. For more details as regards the perspectives and assumptions of this debate see: Frederick N. Cleaveland, "Organization and Administration of Local Planning Agencies", in Local Planning Administration, ed. Mary McLean (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1959), pp. 40-75.

13. Another discussion which stresses the differences in outlook between administrators and planners is appropriate to the point being made here. Robert Daland, "Organization for Urban Planning: Some Barriers to Integration", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 23, no. 4 (Winter 1957), pp. 200-206.

14. John T. Howard, "In Defense of Planning Commissions", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 17, no. 2 (Spring 1951), pp. 89-94.

15. R. G. Tugwell and E. C. Banfield, "The Planning Function Reappraised", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 17, no. 1 (Winter 1951), pp. 46-49.

16. Robert Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), pp. 147-182.

17. David W. Craig, "A Plea for the Eventual Abolition of Planning Boards", Planning 1963 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1963), pp. 68-81.

18. Walker, Urban Government, p. 164.

19. Fagin, "Urban Government", pp. 109-114.

20. Kent, General Plan, passim.

21. Francine F. Rabinovitz and J. Stanley Pottinger, "Organization for Local Planning: The Attitudes of Directors", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 33, no. 1 (January 1967), pp. 27-32.

22. Deil S. Wright, "Governmental Forms and Planning Functions: The Relation of Organizational Structures to Planning Practice", in Planning and Politics: Uneasy Partnership, eds. Thad Beyle and George Lathrop (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1970), pp. 68-105.

23. Ibid., pp. 103-105.

24. For the years 1948 and 1959, data was adapted from a table found in Cleaveland, "Planning Agencies", p. 55. 1963 data and 1972 data were taken directly from the respective years of the Municipal Year Book.

25. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 21-22. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, Local and Areawide). See also, Thomas P. Murphy and Patricia S. Florestano, The Allocation of Local and Areawide Functions in Metropolitan Areas (Washington: National Academy of Public Administration, 1973), pp. 3-10.

26. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Governmental Functions and Processes: Local and Areawide, vol. IV, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 2. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, Governmental Functions).

27. See, for empirical evidence ACIR, Governmental Functions, pp. 37-41.

28. National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing and the Planning Process (Washington: The Academy, 1974), pp. 41-62.

29. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR),

Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 39-55; and, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Regional Decision Making: New Strategies for Substate Districts, vol. I, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 316-319. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, Regional Decision Making).

30. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, The Challenge of Local Governmental Reorganization, vol. III, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 14. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, The Challenge.)

31. Annmarie H. Walsh, The Urban Challenge to Government (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1969), pp. 11-12.

32. Ibid., p. 206.

33. See Daniel J. Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States (New York: Crowell Publishing Co., 1966), Chapter 1.

34. Melvin R. Levin, Jerome G. Rose and Joseph S. Slavet, New Approaches to State Land-Use Policies, (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974), pp. 44-48.

35. ACIR, Local and Areawide, p. 223.

36. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Measuring the Fiscal Capacity and Effort of State and Local Areas (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 45-73; and Michael D. Reagan, The New Federalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 33-36.

37. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System, vol. 2 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 108-114.

38. This conclusion is drawn from an analysis of pooled appropriations in terms of grants-in-aid, revenue sharing and block grants. See ACIR, Fiscal Balance, vol. 1, pp. 275-279.

39. National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing, pp. 41-45.

40. ACIR, _Local and Areawide_, pp. 33-49; ACIR, _Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities_, pp. 41-54; ACIR, _Fiscal Balance_, volumes 1 and 2; ACIR, _Measuring Fiscal Capacity_, pp. 45-73; and ACIR, _Governmental Functions_, pp. 87-89, 120-138.

41. ACIR, _Regional Decision Making_, pp. 9-10.

42. Considerable research and documentation as regards government reform measures have been conducted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the Committee for Economic Development, the International City Management Association and a host of researchers and students involved with urban affairs. This section is only meant to introduce the concept of government reform as one central aspect to the whole issue of improved intergovernmental relations. A detailed analysis of the theory behind continuing efforts to revitalize the structure of government on the substate level will be conducted in Chapter V.

43. ACIR, _Alternative Approaches to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas_ (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 20-80; Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, _Regional Governance: Promise and Performance_, vol. II, _Substate Regionalism and the Federal System_ (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 1-110, (Hereafter referred to as _Promise and Performance_); and Committee for Economic Development (CED), _Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas_ (Washington: The Committee, 1970), pp. 7-10.

44. ACIR, _Regional Decision Making_, p. 15.

45. _Managing the Modern City_ (Washington: International City Management Association, 1971), pp. 432-440.

46. ACIR, _Local and Areawide_, p. 215.

47. National Commission on Urban Problems, _Building The American City_ (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 13-16.

48. U.S. Bureau of the Census, _Governmental Finances in 1970-1971_ (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), Tables 6 and 7.

49. Reagan, _Federalism_, pp. 41-47; and ACIR, _Fiscal Balance_, vol. 1, p. 153.

50. ACIR, _The Challenge_, p. 4.

51. For a more detailed coverage of intergovernmental rela-
    tions as it pertains to the function of urban planning
    see David C. Ranney, Planning and Politics in the Metro-
    polis (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publ. Co.,
    1969), pp. 62-84; and supra, n. 46.

52. Data for Table III-4 was compiled from the following
    two sources: International City Management Association
    (ICMA), Municipal Year Book, 1974 (Washington, 1974),
    Table 2; and, Robert L. Bish, The Public Economy of
    Metropolitan Areas (Chicago: Rand McNally College
    Publishing Co., 1971), p. 2.

53. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistics for Federal Re-
    gions, States and Metropolitan Areas (Washington: U.S.
    Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 910-911.

54. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, p. 2.

55. In this context, passage of the Interstate Highway and
    Defense Act of 1956 contributed to a sense of urgency
    for a federal policy supporting regional planning in
    a particular functional area; see, Interstate Highway
    and Defense Act of 1956, 70 STAT. 374, 23 U.S. C. 101
    (1956). Although the "701" program provided a positive
    thrust for areawide confederalism, grants under this
    section were only for specific studies leading to com-
    prehensive plans, not for continuing operation and
    overhead; see, Housing Act of 1954, 68 STAT. 590 (1954),
    40 U. S. C. 461 (1965).

56. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, p. 56.

57. Ibid., p. 109.

58. Royce Hansen, Metropolitan Councils of Government (Wash-
    ington: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Rela-
    tions, 1966), pp. 3-14.

59. International City Managers' Association (ICMA), Prin-
    ciples and Practice of Urban Planning (Washington: The
    Association, 1968), p. 33.

60. National Association of Regional Councils, 1972 Regional
    Council Directory (February 1972), p. i.

61. ICMA, Municipal Yearbook, 1974, p. 13.

62. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, p. 109.

63. ICMA, Principles and Practice, p. 33.

64. International City Managers' Association (ICMA), Local Planning Administration (Chicago: The Association, 1959), pp. 335-340.

65. Russell W. Maddox, Extraterritorial Powers of Municipalities (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State College, 1955), pp. 2-4.

66. ICMA, Municipal Yearbook, 1974, pp. 64-65.

67. American Society of Planning Officials, Extraterritorial Zoning, PAS Information Report No. 42 (September 1952), passim.

68. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, pp. 20-24.

69. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, pp. 9-10.

70. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, p. 23.

71. See, for example, ACIR, Promise and Performance, pp. 328-336.

72. ICMA, Principles and Practice, p. 34.

73. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, pp. 32-33.

74. Compiled from the findings of a national survey of nearly 6,000 incorporated municipalities conducted jointly by the ACIR-ICMA staffs. For a complete discussion of these findings see ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 29-52.

75. Joseph F. Zimmerman, Intergovernmental Service Agreements for Smaller Municipalities, vol. 5, no. 1 (Washington: International City Management Association, 1973), pp. 123-136.

76. ACIR, The Challenge, p. 52.

77. A much more prolific type of special district is the urban special district, which contains a small part of a metropolitan area, usually an unincorporated, densely settled part. Since this is not generally a method of broadening the jurisdiction of local units of government, it is excluded from treatment as a method of governmental reorganization in metropolitan areas as defined for this outline.

78. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), State-Local Finances: Significant Features and Suggested Legislation (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 160-161.

79. Also, some special districts are created to perform areawide functions only as a supplement to the continued performance of the function on a local basis, and thus the threat to political feasibility is not immediately obvious.

80. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), The Problem of Special Districts in American Government (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 75-81.

81. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, p. 51; and ACIR, Regional Decision Making, pp. 35-36.

82. Melvin Mogulof, Five Metropolitan Governments (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1972), p. 119.

83. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, pp. 43-45.

84. Ibid., pp. 38-43.

85. ACIR, Promise and Performance, pp. 116-118.

86. National League of Cities, Adjusting Municipal Boundaries: Law and Practice (Washington: The League, 1966), p. 4.

87. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, pp. 59-60.

88. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1972 Boundary and Annexation Survey Report" (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973), p. 2.

89. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 37-38, 49-50.

90. See previous section on Extraterritorial Controls.

91. ACIR, The Challenge, p. 86.

92. Richard L. Forstall, "Changes in Land Area for Larger Cities, 1960-1970", Municipal Year Book: 1972 (Washington: ICMA, 1972), p. 87.

93. This conclusion is drawn from the previous discussion concerning special purpose districts and their weakening of general purpose governments.

94. This is the opinion of ACIR as a result of its research

and findings documented in its recent report on Sub-
state Regionalism and the Federal System. See ACIR,
The Challenge, pp. 82-107, passim.

95. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, pp. 64-65.

96. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1972 Boundary and Annexation
Survey Report", p. 2.

97. ICMA, Principles and Practice, p. 34.

98. The recent findings of ACIR highlight this statement.
The 13 city-county consolidations approved since 1962
represent more adoptions than occurred during the pre-
vious century and a half. However, from another per-
spective, the number of city-county consolidations is
unimpressive. In 1970, of the 127 single-county SMSA's
in the United States, only three were city-county con-
solidations. See ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 90-92.

99. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, p. 73.

100. Norman Beckman, "Metropolitan Area Trends and Develop-
ments", Municipal Year Book: 1974 (Washington: ICMA,
1974), p. 12.

101. Council of State Governments, The States and the Metro-
politan Problem (Chicago, 1956), p. 53.

102. Administrative economies from elimination of duplicated
activities are likely to be greatest where the city and
the overlying county with which it consolidates are
closest to one another in size. See ACIR, Promise and
Performance, p. 45, 62.

103. The converse situation indicates a major weakness of
the city-county consolidation appraoch: It has limited
usefulness in handling metropolitan problems in areas
that are not confined to a single county.

104. A good summary discussion of the issues and problems
surrounding the milieu of voter reactions pertaining
to government reorganization referenda is contained in
Vincent Marando, "Local Government Reorganization: An
Overview", National Academy of Public Administration,
November 7, 1972 (unpublished), pp. 1-40. For a dis-
cussion of the negative attitudes of most urban black
residents concerning metropolitan reorganization, see
ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 101-104.

105. Marando, "Local Government Reorganization: An Overview",
p. 4.

106. ICMA, Municipal Year Book: 1974, p. 12.

107. ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 93-94.

108. Committee for Economic Development (CED), Modernizing Local Government (New York: The Committee, 1966), pp. 11-13.

109. ACIR, Alternative Approaches, pp. 75-76.

110. CED, Reshaping Government, pp. 70-83.

111. ACIR, Local and Areawide, pp. 111-114.

112. American Institute of Planners Planning Policy Committee, "The Emergence of Metropolitan Planning", a Background Paper (Chicago, 1965), pp. 10-20; and CED, Reshaping Government, pp. 51-56.

113. Mogulof, Five Metropolitan Governments, pp. 82-83.

114. ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 97-101.

115. ACIR, Local and Areawide, pp. 111-112.

116. A 1972 referendum to alter the nature of metropolitan Dade County, Florida government was rejected by a vote of 66,998 to 144,274. Under the proposal, the position of county manager would have been replaced by an elected mayor, an office of ombudsman would have been established, and district elections would have been substituted for at-large elections for the county commission. ICMA, Municipal Year Book: 1974, p. 12.

117. ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 106-107.

118. Reagan, Federalism, pp. 33-44.

119. Many of the important arguments for and against home rule are summarized by W. Brook Graves, American Intergovernmental Relations (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), pp. 205-215, passim. For a general discussion of the concept, history and application of home rule, see Adrian, Governing Urban America, pp. 180-181.

120. Ranney, Planning and Politics, pp. 62-64.

121. This subject is discussed from the planner's point of view by : Peter Nash and Richard Strecker, "Legislative Reapportionment, Urban Planning and the Supreme Court", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 28, no. 3 (August 1962), pp. 145-155.

122. Ibid., p. 154.

123. ICMA, Principles and Practice, pp. 36-37.

124. Ibid., p. 37.

125. A similar arrangement also exists in the State of Indiana and in the city of Indianapolis. See, ACIR, Promise and Performance, pp. 64-70.

126. William I. Goodman, "Urban Planning and the Role of the State", State Government, vol. 35 (Summer 1962), pp. 149-153.

127. Reagan, Federalism, pp. 86-88.

128. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

129. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, pp. 168-176.

130. For an excellent descriptive history of the development of grants-in-aid, see W. Brook Graves, Intergovernmental Relations in the United States (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), chapters XIV-XVI.

131. President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs, Recommendations on Government Policies and Programs (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), pp. 173-176.

132. For a complete description of the functions of the 701 program, see Comprehensive Planning Assistance Requirements and Guidelines for a Grant, HUD Handbook No. 1 (March 1972), CM Publication CPM 604; and supra, n. 55.

133. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, p. 168.

134. U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Circular A-95 (Washington, July 24, 1969); and Title I, Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, as summarized in HUD, The Model Cities Program (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 9-12.

135. National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing, pp. 18-19.

136. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), HUD Challenge (Washington, November 1974), pp. 2-3.

137. Ibid., p. 2.

138. National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing, pp. 25.

139. Bureau of the Budget, <u>Section 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966: Two Years' Experience</u> (Washington, 1969), p. 1.

140. Melvin B. Mogulof, <u>Governing Metropolitan Areas</u> (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1971), p. 6.

141. All 50 states now have some form of statewide A-95 review and comment function. Additionally, all HUD's designated areawide planning agencies, of which there are over 200, utilize the A-95 review procedures. Program applications requiring review have been added by OMB since the inception of the system, so that there are now over 100 federal programs for physical, economic, and social planning that come under the A-95 procedure.

142. ACIR, <u>Regional Decision Making</u>, pp. 148-153.

143. Reagan, <u>Federalism</u>, pp. 86-88.

144. This section borrows heavily from the following sources in order to preserve consistency while striving for brevity: ACIR, <u>Regional Decision Making</u>, pp. 155-156; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), <u>Planned Variations: First Year Survey</u>, Community Development Evaluation Series No. 7 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 1-59; and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), <u>Annual Arrangements Phase I</u>, Community Development Evaluation Series No. 6 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 1-40.

145. According to the Evaluation Division of HUD's Office of Community Development, as of March 31, 1973, 110 cities had completed agreements to operate under Annual Arrangements and another 126 cities were in the process of negotiating such agreements.

146. HUD, <u>Planned Variations</u>, p. 1.

147. Ibid., pp. iii-iv.

148. HUD, <u>Annual Arrangements</u>, pp. 15-35, presents preliminary findings with respect to the Annual Arrangements process "as a means of 1) achieving coordination among HUD Programs; 2) achieving the purposes of special revenue sharing within the framework of existing legislation; and 3) improving the operating relationships between the HUD field offices and the cities".

149. Ibid., pp. 33-34, indicates variation in chief executive involvement related to the form of local government.

Local chief executive participation was generally higher in the manager-council form of government than in the strong mayor-council. The larger cities have generally had the least chief executive involvement in the negotiations.

150. HUD, Planned Variations, pp. 9-58, offers preliminary findings with respect to the Planned Variations demonstration "as a way to convert a portion of the present Model Cities program into a test of what can be accomplished under the revenue sharing approach to intergovernmental relations".

151. ACIR, Regional Decision Making, p. 156.

152. Ibid., p. 163.

153. HUD Challenge, p. 2.

154. Ibid., p. 3.

155. National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing, p. 51.

156. Reagan, Federalism, pp. 125-132.

157. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Special Revenue Sharing: An Analysis of the Administration's Grant Consolidation Proposals (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 24.

158. See, for example, John Friedman, Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973), pp. 1-193, passim; Anthony Catanese, "Plan? or Process?", Planning, (June, 1974), pp. 14-16; John Friedman and Barclay Hudson, "Knowledge and Action: A Guide to Planning Theory", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 40, no. 1 (1974), pp. 2-16; Martin Krieger, "Some New Directions for Planning Theories", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 40, no. 3 (1974), pp. 156-163; and Stephen Grabow and Allan Heskin, "Foundations for a Radical Concept of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 39, no. 2 (1973), pp. 106-114.

159. The "Standard" era of planning is a term used by the planning profession to encompass the context of planning practice and theory as it was conducted from 1900 to the beginning of the categorical grants period.

160. For a good discussion of General Revenue Sharing and its implications for the urban planning process, see National Academy of Sciences, Revenue Sharing, pp. 42-46.

161. Supra, n. 22.

162. ACIR, <u>The Challenge</u>, pp. 151-154.

163. Ibid., p. 154.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICS OF METROPOLITAN PLANNING

Traditionally, planners have been characterized as pro-
fessionals endowed with peculiar technical abilities which
would, if enacted carte blanche, cure the ills of the cities
through adjustments in the physical and social environment.
This acquired competence supposedly set them apart from the
dirty business of bargaining over selfish interests which
was thought to be the context of politics. Elected officials
possessing the proper legal authority to formulate public
policy were suppose to accept the planners pronouncements
with a sigh of relief. When they did not, the planner
normally concluded that the politician was more concerned
with his own selfish ambitions than with the good of the city.

Somewhat to the anguish of the proponents of planning
ideology, recommendations of the planner have more often
than not been rejected by the elected officials. Part of
this rejection is explained by the traditional dichotomy
between the political and the governmental administrative
roles. The latter, represented by the various bureaucracies
throughout the three levels of the federal system, actually
do the things we think government does. Yet it is the former
role, that of the political system, which actually authorizes
and pays for the governmental goods and services. Planning,
unfortunately, has been thrust into the untenable middle.
Thus, truly effective planning becomes virtually impossible.
The larger portion of the elected officials' rejection con-
cerns the vast differences in the temporal bases of long-
range, area-wide planning versus the short-term objectives
of politicians[1]. Much of the responsibility for failing to
accommodate this difference rests with the institution of
planning and its "end state" approach as previously discussed.
Gradually, however, planners have begun to realize that any

kind of public policy (including planning) affects individual values. Since all people within a governmental jurisdiction do not generally share identical values, the formulation of public policy will most likely be accompanied by conflict. The process of resolving or managing conflict over public policy is what politics is all about.

In many ways the process of metropolitanization described in Chapter II has shaped the scope and focus of the politics of metropolitan planning. The distribution of social and economic characteristics in the metropolis has created a situation where very different kinds of planning issues arise in different parts of the metropolitan area. This fact results in two major political ramifications. In the first place it is very difficult to plan on an area-wide basis as was previously stressed. Secondly, planners in different parts of the metropolis will confront varying (and often conflicting) kinds of politics. This point will be of major concern in this chapter.

Planning, Conflict and Decision Making

Few, if any, planning policy decisions do not involve value judgements. Consequently, the formulation of planning policy is often accompanied by conflict[2]. In making recommendations based on technical considerations, the planner is also making value judgements. The allocation of land to particular uses, as represented in a land-use plan, has both technical and value content. How much land should be devoted to low-cost housing for low-income families in a community and what priority should that form of housing have relative to other aspects of a city's growth cycle? Those low-income families and persons who feel that their present living accommodations are inadequate would favor a plan which places a high priority on the development of housing units that coincides with their needs. On the other hand, the downtown businessmen feel that they need to have more

affluent customers living nearby. Thus, they would favor
a plan which places a high priority on replacing "slums"
with middle and upper income housing or parking garages.
Whose values come first, is quite clearly a matter to be
solved through the political process. Though there are
technical considerations in these issues, there is also a
need to weigh the values involved. Both professional plan-
ning service and political considerations must form the
basis for much planning policy.

Like it or not the planner is a key participant in the
politics of planning. His initial decisions will often
generate actual or potential conflict. He may go out and
drum up support for his proposals from within the impacted
community, or make his decisions in line with his own values
and ignore both the community and the politicians. Alterna-
tively, he may decide to alter his initial decisions so as
to avoid any form of conflict.

Eventually, however, some elected official(s) must de-
cide how or if they should act on the planner's recommenda-
tions. In some situations the mayor or city manager will
have the responsibllity for acting on planning proposals
while in other circumstances the city council or a number of
different officials will have this authority. Assuming that
these officials wish to be re-elected, it is intuitively
likely that they will be very interested in the political
implications of planning policy recommendations. Thus, an
elected official will search for a policy that will produce
the most satisfaction on the part of his constituency while
generating the least amount of dissatisfaction. In some
instances, there will exist the need to persuade the voters
of the benefits to be derived from a given policy. At other
times the politician will have to compromise either his or
his planner's position in order to satisfy powerful opposi-
tion to the measures of the proposed policy.

Describing how planning recommendations are transformed

into public policy through the interstices of the political
process is complicated. The relative amounts of technical
and political content of a planning decision will vary from
issue to issue and from community to community. These varia-
tions are primarily due to the large number of factors which
determine political behavior relative to planning in a given
community. In order to employ methods to manage or resolve
any subsequent conflict due to the wide variation of political
behavior, it is necessary to examine the broad ranges of
conflict and political involvement in planning[3].

Political Involvement In Metropolitan Planning

The politics of planning is a dynamic process involving
the resolution of conflict over daily issues which are to
a large extent influenced by past decisions. The formulation
of most planning policies involves a continuous series of
interactions between the planner, elected or appointed gov-
ernmental officials and non-governmental participants in
the planning process[4]. Private groups or individuals react
to proposed or actual planning policy by making demands on
either elected public officials or the planner. The elected
officials in turn make demands on the planner either as a
result of pressure from private groups and individuals or in
anticipation of that pressure. In addition, some govern-
mental officials may become actively involved with a plan-
ning issue if they feel that the outcome of that issue would
affect their position in the government. This involvement
may take the form of direct pressure on the planner to change
his recommendations, specific action based on the planner's
recommendations, a lack of action on these recommendations,
or pressure on some other governmental official[5].

The scope of these interactions has a great deal of
influence on the degree of potential or actual conflict
which a planning issue will generate. Further, it is fairly
apparent that most of these interactions are politically

motivated. Therefore, a knowledge of the kinds of things which prompt groups or individuals to become involved with a planning issue is essential to an understanding of the politics of planning. Generally, the scope of political involvement can be understood by determining why certain groups and individuals are prone to take political action on a given issue, uncovering the means which they have at their disposal to influence the resolution of the issue and observing how they would utilize this influence. One method that has been used in several studies dealing with political involvement in local government involves answering the following questions: Who are the actors involved and what are their stakes in the resolution of the planning issue in question? What political resources do these actors possess and how effectively do they use those resources? The major theoretical framework employed in these studies is used here as the basis for explaining the nature and extent of political involvement in planning policy matters[6].

The actors in the politics of planning consist of government officials and their employees as well as individuals and groups who do not work for the government. Some elected officials of local government become automatically involved in the politics of planning since they must ultimately decide on the recommendations of the planner. In either the mayor-council or city manager form of municipal government, the chief executive will introduce planning legislation to the city council or act directly on the planning agency's recommendations. He may also have to respond to actual or potential pressures from either governmental or non-governmental actors before a decision is made. Other governmental employees besides the elected officials may decide to become involved in the resolution of a particular planning issue. This involvement is most likely to occur when an individual feels that the planner is dealing with a policy area in which his department or agency has an interest. For example,

Altshuler noted in examining a conflict over the location of
a major highway in St. Paul, that the planners and the high-
way officials became major adversaries in the dispute[7].
Thus, local administrators are often actors in the politics
of planning because many planning issues affect departments
within the local bureaucracy.

   As noted previously, the impact of many municipal plan-
ning policies reaches well beyond the boundaries of the muni-
cipality making that policy. Further, any number of govern-
mental actors involved with planning are not employed by the
same government for which the planner works. Some of these
local public officials work for other local governments.
When a local jurisdiction is affected by the planning policies
of a nearby municipality, its government officials will
generally try to influence such policies. Frequently, offi-
cials of State and Federal governments become involved in
local planning decisions. The traditional and often exten-
sive role of the Federal government in local planning through
the many Federally funded programs makes their participation
in local planning decisions almost automatic.[8] Many State
officials will become involved with local planning issues
by virtue of the advisory role that State government has in
local planning matters[9].

   Several types of non-governmental actors play a sub-
stantial role in the politics of planning. Because elected
officials generally wish to be re-elected, the electorate
as a whole is at least indirectly involved. An incumbent
will generally not adopt planning policies which he believes
would be unsatisfactory to his constituency. He would,
however, encourage policies that produce tangible results
in a short period of time. Large construction projects,
for example, show the electorate that their representatives
are doing something. From this standpoint, therefore, the
electorate is generally involved in the politics of planning.

Depending on the planning issues at stake, a wide variety of private groups and individuals enter the process of planning policy formulation more directly. Neighborhood associations, ad hoc citizen groups and private individuals will normally take an active stand on matters of planning policy when it affects them personally. Local businessmen frequently become active participants in the resolution of planning issues. Decisions that affect the real estate market frequently result in the involvement of appraisers and agents in the policy making process. Labor unions, concerned with the welfare of their members, sometimes speak out on matters of planning policy. Finally, the mass communications media will often push for victory or defeat of various planning proposals.

All groups and individuals, be they governmental or nongovernmental, do not concern themselves with every recommendation of the planners. Rather, they are highly selective about those planning issues in which they become involved. Some knowledge about the kinds of things that motivate people and groups to take an active part in the resolution of specific planning issues would help in understanding political involvement and the generation of conflict. Generally speaking, people become politically involved in a planning question when they feel that they have a stake in the outcome of the matter[10].

There are several different kinds of stakes leading to political involvement. One is acquiring and maintaining an elected office; or related to this, the desire and ambition to advance politically. This kind of stake is particularly important to those elected officials who have the responsibility for acting on the planner's recommendations. Their reaction to his plan alternatives will be greatly affected by the possible political ramifications of any action or stance they take.

A second stake in the outcome of planning policy deci-
sions is economic. Many businesses or individuals stand
to gain or lose money and/or jobs as a result of the imple-
mentation of planning policy. For example, central city
businessmen have economic stakes in the redevelopment poli-
cies of the central business districts. In one large
midwestern city, it was proposed that an extensive residen-
tial area be redeveloped as a commercial center[11]. This
effectively would have created a new central business dis-
trict. Those businessmen whose establishments were located
in the existing district fought the plan because it would
adversely affect them. Clearly, the stakes in this planning
issue were economic. The redevelopers who planned to invest
in the proposed development had favorable economic stakes,
because if the plan were adopted they would make money
through their investment.

The level of services offered by the government consti-
tutes a third stake in planning. The capital improvements
program which schedules all of the municipality's capital
investment is a good example of this type of stake. Major
street improvements, school buildings, new fire stations,
and expanded park facilities are among the many items cov-
ered by these programs. Those groups or individuals who
place a high value on the quality of their streets or the
expansion of a school's physical plant would have a public
service stake in the priorities established within the
capital budget.

Stakes which motivate involvement with the politics
of planning are not always as tangible as public office,
money, jobs and services. Desires for prestige, power,
feelings of altruism and other intangibles can also be
motivating factors[12]. Sometimes an ideological belief
such as an aversion to Federal government programs in local
areas causes citizens to take a stand against urban renewal
projects. Sayre and Kaufman have observed that the goal

of having a master plan as a guide to local policy is itself
an ideological stake for certain groups in New York City[13].
It is difficult to determine who might have intangible
stakes, because people who have such stakes cannot always
say exactly why they have become involved in a conflict over
a particular issue.

Many of the groups and individuals who become involved
in the politics of planning have a combination of these dif-
ferent kinds of stakes. The extent of the combined stakes
in the outcome of a planning issue does not necessarily deter-
mine the final decision[14]. The political influence of the
actors in the politics of planning may be very unequal. The
possession of political resources will, in part, govern the
amount of influence that can be used over the decisions of
the planner and the elected officials. Just as there are
different kinds of stakes in planning policy, there are also
different political resources which individuals or groups
can use to influence public decisions. The vote is a sig-
nificant political resource. Those who control a large
number of votes tend to find that their viewpoints on mat-
ters of planning policy are very important to those elected
officials who must eventually make such policy. There are
also other kinds of resources which determine the ability
to influence those who control the votes as well as the
voters. Money is one resource which can be used in many
ways to include bribery or the financing of political cam-
paigns. Control of jobs is an important political resource
with the promise of employment being highly significant in
influencing the way people vote. Another important resource
is control over the dissemination of information. Those who
own the local newspapers and radio and television stations
have considerable potential power since the news media can
determine what kinds of information the public will receive
and the manner in which they receive it. It is rather common
for participants in a planning conflict who have little or

no control over public information to publish and distribute issue-relevant information themselves. A person's popularity or social status can be a resource since an individual who is known and respected will generally be able to find a sympathetic audience for his views on an issue[15].

Technical knowledge is another resource used in the resolution of planning issues. Planners frequently use their acquired expertise as a source of power in resolving planning conflicts. Although the position that "I know what's best for you because I'm a professional planner" is not infallible, there is evidence that it is convincing to some people when it is backed up by a certain amount of technical ability[16]. Closely related to technical expertise is the resource of knowledge. Planners, for example, are in a commanding position to know what the future impact of alternative policy proposals is apt to be. Not only do they have a wide range of studies at their disposal but their knowledge as to the correct procedures for obtaining Federal grant monies is also an important means of influence. Cities in need of funds (and most are) will pay close attention to those with proven ability to acquire outside fiscal resources[17].

One final type of political resource is legality. All governmental officials have a certain amount of legality on their side by virtue of the formal powers which they possess. The mayor in a strong mayor-council form of urban government has a considerable legal resource due to the importance of the kind of public decisions he can legally make. Additionally, the council members themselves would possess extensive legal resources.

Knowledge of the distribution of stakes and resources relative to a planning issue is not a sufficient basis for predicting the role that individuals and groups will play in deciding that issue. All groups and individuals do not utilize their resources in an equally effective manner because of differences in the extent to which they will use the re-

sources they have and how effectively they employ those which they elect to use. Dahl made a useful distinction, on the basis of the above, between actual and potential influence.[18]. No groups or individuals will completely realize their potential influence unless they fully utilize all of the resources they have at their disposal. Generally, it is doubtful that there is ever a time when all individuals and groups with political resources are aware of their potential influence. There will always be potentially influential actors who, at any point in time, are not using all of their political resources. Determining how much of these slack resources will eventually be used will depend on the stakes involved in the outcome of a planning policy issue. Further, other intangible factors such as the ability to see how political involvement would further one's objectives coupled with the knowledge of how to use resources will contribute significantly to the determination of the actual use of resources[19].

Predicting the political consequences of planning policy under the above set of circumstances is a difficult process at best. Any political analyst, be he a planner, politician or academician, would have great difficulty determining whose stakes would be involved in a particular planning issue. The difficulty of determining slack resources further complicates the prediction problem. As suggested by Clawson, the process of land development at any point in time involves an extensive assortment of vested interests[20]. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to tell how those interests would be affected by a change in the process resulting from outcomes of new planning policy decisions. The unused political resources in the system can suddenly be used by those which have them with dramatic and unforeseen consequences.

The concept of slack resources is helpful in explaining the uncertainties of the politics of planning and in understanding the behavior of elected officials relative to plan-

ning issues. As an issue begins to take shape, the political
decision makers will note who is and who is not involved.
A knowledge of the individuals and groups with stakes in
an issue who are not using their resources can influence
an elected official's reaction to the planner's recommenda-
tion. Normally a politician will be reluctant to commit
himself to a planning policy if the political consequences
of his commitment are nebulous. Since the distribution of
the costs and benefits of planning policy are often difficult
to ascertain, there is apt to be a negative political environ-
ment for the implementation of planning proposals. Even
when the costs and benefits are known, the potential opposi-
tion will often be stronger than the potential support. This
is probably because the benefits of planning are often ab-
stract and obscure or they are geared largely for future
generations, whereas the costs associated with the implemen-
tation of planning policy are direct and immediate. There-
fore, the probability that those who must bear the costs
of a planning policy will organize for opposition is greater
than the likelihood that the beneficiaries of the policy will
organize to support that policy[21]. Thus, the existence of
slack resources in the local political system will cause the
political office holder to look unfavorably at those planning
proposals which he associates with potential conflict.

A Rational Basis for Political Involvement in Planning

The stakes which individuals and groups have in a plan-
ning issue, their political resources and the way in which
they use those resources provide a framework for analyzing
the scope of political involvement and the conflict that
may be generated by a given planning issue.[22] In order,
however, to understand why the stakes and resources involved
in the planning process vary from issue to issue and from
community to community, it is necessary to ask what factors

explain the variations in the stakes and resources that are
affected by planning issues? Five factors have been chosen
as most pertinent and causal in developing a framework for
the present discussion. They are: The dimensions of plan-
ning policy, local political culture, the role of the planner,
community power structures, and community socio-economic
characteristics.

The Dimensions of Planning Policy

Planning differs significantly from other functions of
local government. The more traditional activities, such as
police and fire, have a clearly defined scope of activity;
planning does not[23]. The content of the municipal planner's
work varies considerably from agency to agency. In short,
planning policy can have many different dimensions. By
considering the dimensions of planning policy as a factor
in the basis of political involvement in planning, it is
suggested that the nature of the planner's work itself is
an important aspect of the politics of planning. For this
reason the various dimensions of planning policy are pre-
sented and described in an attempt to uncover the nature of
the affect of the planning function on political participa-
tion in the formulation of planning policy. There are four
dimensions of planning policy which seem relevant to the
intended purpose: Time, the subject matter of planning, the
scope of planning decisions, and the nature of the public
commitments which such decisions require.

All of planning is concerned with the future. However,
some planning policies are directed to events which will
occur almost immediately while other policies are concerned
with various aspects of the more distant future. Thus,
in terms of time, planning policy can be short, intermediate
or long range. We can call the formulation of long-range
planning policy "plan making activity". Short-range planning
policy involves decisions based on policies which have already

been made and which will lead to immediate action. Inter-
mediate-range planning policy is a relatively new creation
of the planners which attempts to tie together in a pro-
grammatic way the idealistic activity of plan making with
the more realistic problems of plan implementation — the
matter of short-range planning[24]. We will call intermediate-
range planning "tactical plan making" for want of an accept-
able term from the profession of planning. The time dimen-
sion of planning policy is best conceived as a continuum
rather than these three categories. Politically, however,
planning policy falls into one of the three classifications
described above. Potential actors are most apt to become
involved when the resolution of an issue will result in im-
mediate action. Thus as the potential actors become active
over an issue, the political stakes in that issue become
clear. With this knowledge they can then assess the con-
sequences of policies which result in immediate action. But
plan making activity requires the formulation of policies
which do not require action until some time in the future.
This creates problems for the decision-maker. First, it
becomes more difficult to determine what the immediate
political consequences of his decisions will be. Second,
it is hard for the politician to know what the future poli-
tical implications of his decision will be since the whole
structure of actors, stakes and resources will change. Thus,
the time dimension has a considerable effect on the degree
of political uncertainty connected with planning. For this
reason the political acceptability of long-range planning
policy will depend largely on the other three dimensions of
planning[25].

The subject matter of plans is one of these dimensions
and varies considerably depending upon the extent to which
they consider social and economic development as a by-product.
Additionally, physical plans differ in the extent to which
they involve activities of other departments and agencies of

the government. Furthermore, the subject matter of the plan
can go beyond physical development and cover practically
everything the government is doing[26]. Conceptually, we
can classify plans along a continuum with plans that consider
only physical development at one end and the policies plan
at the other end.

Another dimension of planning is the scope of the de-
cisions that are required by the plan. This dimension can
also be described in terms of a continuum. At one end of
this continuum would be the type of plan that calls only for
marginal changes in existing policies. To illustrate: sup-
pose we are looking at that part of the plan which deals with
traffic. An incremental decision concerning traffic would
be directed toward one or more specific traffic problems
such as the daily traffic jam during rush hour at a parti-
cular intersection of streets. The solution might be to
make some streets one way or to synchronize traffic signals.
At the other end of the continuum would be the very broad
sweeping decisions. Using the traffic example, a broad
sweeping decision might require that the entire metropolitan
area transportation system be changed by building new high-
ways and mass transit facilities. Therefore, an incremental
decision calls for only marginal changes in the status quo
while the broad sweeping decision calls for extensive changes.

A final dimension of planning involves the nature of
the commitments which the plan requires the elected officials
to make. This dimension adds another continuum to our model.
At one end is the very vague or general commitment; i.e.,
"The city will enact measures to study and solve the peak
hour traffic problems". At the other end of the continuum
are very specific commitments such as "The city will solve
the peak hour traffic problem by rerouting the southbound
traffic on Halstead through Vine and Cummins streets and...
while synchronizing the four traffic signals from 5th to 8th
streets...".

These latter three dimensions can be combined into a three-dimensional model that lies within the fourth dimension of time[27]. In Figure IV-1, the three continua have been drawn with each bisecting one another at right angles. The combined model is enclosed in a cube. Any plan can be represented as a point falling within the cube. Each axis of the cube represents one of the continua discussed above. One axis defines the subject matter of planning. This axis is bounded at one extreme by the completely physical plan and at the other extreme by the policies plan. In reality, of course, these limits are only approached and in between them lie the more commonly investigated matters of "comprehensive" planning, economic planning, school planning, land use planning, tot lot planning, etc. Another axis defines the scope of decisions with one extreme indicating incremental decision making and the other extreme the broad, sweeping decisions. The third axis defines the continuum which illustrates the relative degree of commitment which will be required of political decision-makers if they adopt the plan. The bounds of this continuum range from very general to very specific commitments.

This cube diagram illustrates the range of different plans that could be developed. Theoretically, there would be an almost infinite number of combined positions along the three continua in which a plan may fall. For example, point A of Figure IV-2 represents the meeting place of points b, c, and d. A plan classified as A would be one dealing with all public policies, calling for very extensive changes and requiring very specific commitments. A plan classified as E (the meeting place of points f, g, and h) is at the other extreme. This plan deals only with the physical environment, involves only incremental decisions and very vague commitments. Point J, on the other hand, illustrates a combination lying somewhere in between points A and E. This plan, where f_1, g_1, and h_1 meet, is one that strongly emphasizes the phys-
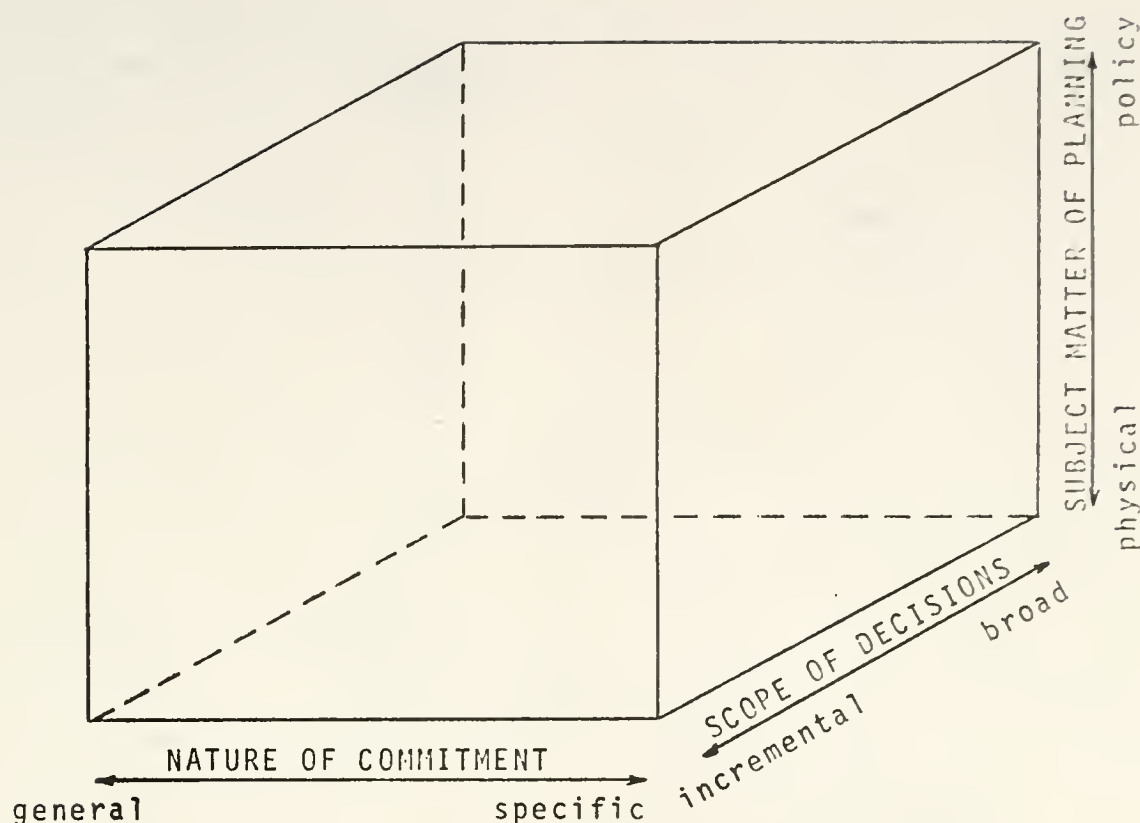
Figure IV-1.   A Conceptual Model Depicting a Rational Basis
for Political Involvement in Planning

ical environment, involves decisions that tend to be incre-
mental and requires a moderate degree of specific commitments.

From this model, we can now begin to examine how the
type of planning which the planning agency is doing influences
the politics of planning.   Plan A, the comprehensive policies
plan, has the least likelihood of being adopted intact.   In
the first place, plan A exhibits the greatest potential for
conflict.   As the plan becomes increasingly more comprehen-
sive, the number of people and stakes affected by the plan
increases[28].   Due to the negative bias in planning, greater
political participation in the planning process is apt to
mean less prospect for the plan itself remaining intact.

A second reason that the probability for the political
survival of plan A is low, is that it raises many political
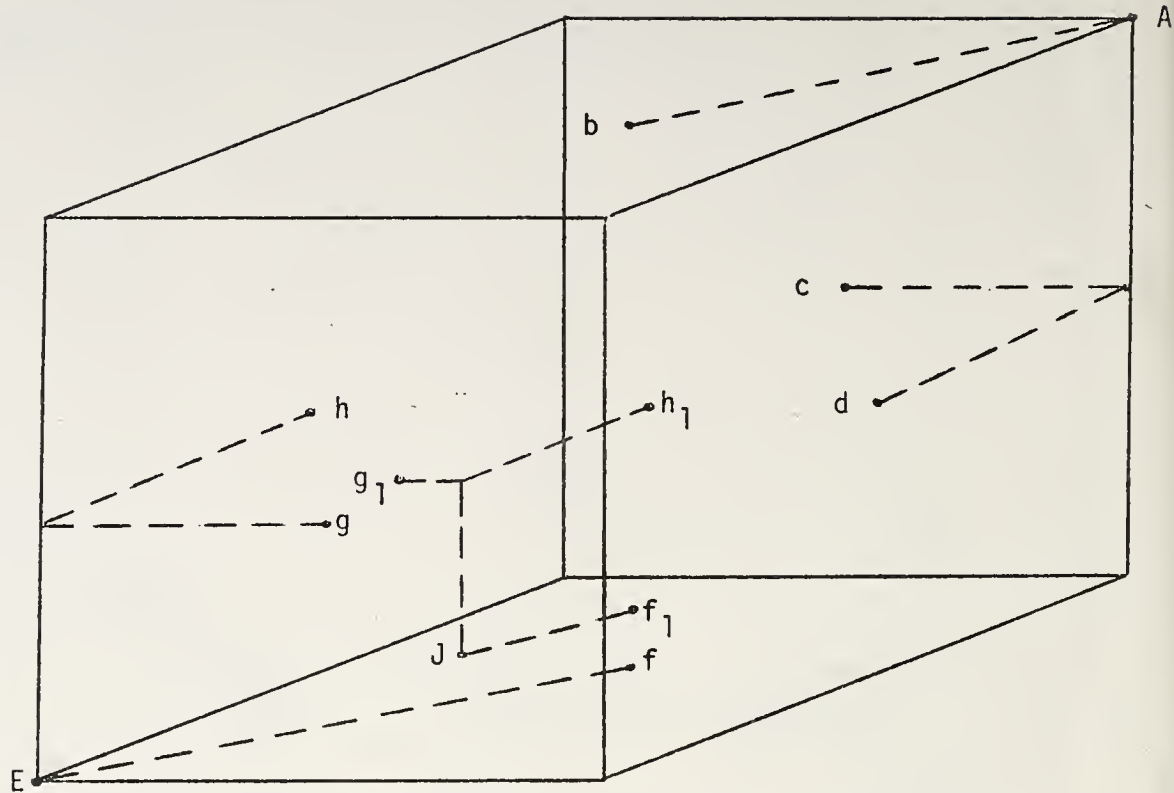
Figure IV-2. Typical Combinations of the Elements Contained
in the Planning Policy Model

questions not answerable by either the planner or politician.
All public policy is associated with a multitude of vested
interests none of which can be determined until policies are
changed. Thus, the political ramifications of a plan to
change public policy is quite often an unknown variable.
Politicians do not like making firm commitments in the ab-
sence of such knowledge. Therefore, comprehensive policy
plans tend to receive a lukewarm reception from the decision-
makers, since they must bear the burden of any adverse poli-
tical consequences.

Plans which fall into the A category are not politically
attractive because they tend to be difficult to ameliorate
given the realities of our local pluralistic political sys-
tem. Banfield and Wilson have argued that the American
political system operates through bargaining and compromise[29].

However, this method of operation is incompatible with the comprehensive planners' ideal of implementing sweeping conceptions of the "public interest". Altshuler has suggested that the planner becomes an arbitrator among all the conflicting interests that are touched by the content of an accepted comprehensive plan[30]. The plan, by definition, is based on a broad array of goals and objectives which presents the planner-arbitrator with two problems[31]. First, he must develop criteria that can be a basis for policies that will support the intended goals, knowing full well that his knowledge of the interrelationships among the policy areas is not sufficient for such a broad purpose. Secondly, the justification for having the planner in the role of arbitrator is contingent on the existence of at least a partial community-wide consensus as pertains to the goals in the plan. Therefore, conflict must be considered as minor disagreements over the means by which to achieve commonly held ends. Altshuler found, however, that in Minneapolis and St. Paul the planners were not even able to have a sustained discussion on which goals should be included in the plan[32]. Additionally, in a pluralistic political system, the planner is not likely to find agreement even if a public discussion of goals could be set up. Therefore, the planner cannot, according to Altshuler, justify an arbitrator's role for himself. Rather, the political decision-maker who can bargain and compromise to obtain commonly held goals and objectives should be the arbitrator.

Altshuler's argument applies mainly to plans which are classified in our model as A or those close to A. Plans of the E variety do not generate as much of a political problem because they are based on a limited set of objectives which can be more easily determined and for which consensus is more likely to be obtained. Thus, planning activities which do not involve immediate action, which cover a broad range of subject matter, which require sweeping changes and which

also require specific policy commitments from politicians
are the least likely to be implemented. Such plans have the
greatest potential for conflict, are full of uncertainties
concerning their political ramifications and are the most
difficult to reconcile given the character of our local
political system.

Local Political Culture

Another factor which can affect the politics of planning
is the political culture of a community. The term political
culture refers to the expectations which the people in a
community have relative to the things which government ought
to be doing[33]. Political culture, when applied to planning,
affects the viewpoints of the residents of a community as per-
tains to planning being a function of government.

In the United States as a whole, planning is generally
regarded as a proper function of local government[34]. This,
however, has not always been the case. Planning in earlier
times was rejected as being inconsistent with the predominant
liberal interpretation of freedom and democracy. Planning
at the national level is still somewhat stigmatized by being
associated with socialism or communism. At the local level,
fortunately, most people today do not feel that planning is
inconsistent with democracy. This attitude is probably due
to the fact that local planning in its earliest stages was
advocated by highly reputable people and was associated with
political reform movements[35]. In sum, planning at the local
level was presented to the American people as a possible
solution to the very visible and serious problems of cities
which the private market system had not been able to control.

While the political culture of the United States gener-
ally accepts planning as a function of local government,
the degree of support varies from community to community[36].
Further, it is difficult to pin down the reasons for differences
in political culture. Attitudes toward the planning function

may be shaped by such variables as the length of time the planning function has been established in a community, the experiences of the community's residents with planners and planning in the past, and the strength of community sentiment in allowing planners to do what they should do with a minumum of interferences. One hypothesis about local political behavior in relation to differences in political culture links socio-economic characteristics of the population to attitudes about the role of government[37]. Banfield and Wilson argue that there are two kinds of discernable political ethos. One is derived from Anglo-Saxon Protestant values which the authors have termed a "public regarding" view of government. This type of ethos suggests that government should do those things which will benefit the community "as a whole". According to Banfield and Wilson, middle and upper-class people tend to have such an outlook. The other ethos has been termed "private regarding". It grew out of European political experience which did not include a heritage of independent political action. Those who subscribe to the private regarding ethos tend to look to government as a source of personal benefit. The authors hypothesize that in the United States the very wealthy aristocracy and the low-income groups generally approve of the private regarding ethos[38].

Some interesting implications for the politics of planning can be derived from the public and private regarding hypothesis. The profession of planning has as its basis the public regarding view of government. The plan is suppose to be a future conception of the public interest. Any planning policy that is contaminated by the influence of special interest groups is antithetical to planning theory. Therefore, if a community is largely composed of groups which subscribe to a public regarding ethos, the planning conducted in that climate will generally have a better chance of achieving its aims than in those communities where private regarding views are predominant.

The Planner's Role

The role which the planner chooses to play in the politics of planning can influence both the extent to which planning issues will generate conflict and the way in which those conflicts are resolved. The planner has several alternative roles from which to pick. He can play the role of a political agnostic who makes his recommendations strictly on a "professional" or technical basis without any thought about the political acceptability of his proposals. Another role he could assume would be that of confidential advisor to the political decision makers by shaping planning recommendations so they coincide with the politician's desire to be re-elected. Finally, the planner can be a political mobilizer, making decisions based on "professional criteria and then attempt to drum up political support from the community-at-large. By playing this role the planner is always trying to sell his proposals to the politician. Although some planners will play one of these roles to the exclusion of the others, most planners elect to play all of these roles at one time or another depending on the planning issue involved.[39].

There exists no consistent normative theory of planning which could serve as a guide to planners in choosing one of the alternatives. For example, a survey of planning students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology indicated that 61 percent of those interviewed thought that politicans were "unprofessional"[40]. The survey also indicated that the planning students thought the objectives of the planner and politician were far apart. Further, the students felt that planners were engaged in rational decision-making to serve society's interests, while the politicans were engaged in "irrational" decision-making to serve selfish interests.

Altshuler, in finding that planners in St. Paul and Minneapolis avoided conflict by sidestepping controversial issues, concluded that planners are caught in a dilemma

because of an inherent conflict between their attitudes and
their tendency to equate successful planning with plan
implementation. Their professional attitudes require that
they should present the public with crucial alternatives,
but they are afraid to risk political defeat by letting the
public and the politicians know that there are technical
uncertainties in the subject matter of their plans. Secondly,
the planner is committed to a comprehensive plan which recog-
nizes complex interrelationships among the consequences of
planning policy[41].

Planners and students of planning who have written about
the role of the planner have not come to any clear and con-
sistent conclusions. Although the traditional planning
ideology tends to support the political agnostic view, more
recent literature has suggested that the planner ought to
be recommending alternative courses of action which are
acceptable both to planning practice and to the politician's
political career. Walker was an early advocate of this
course of action[42]. Therefore, and as previously suggested
by Altshuler, the planning profession has no normative theory
to use as a guide in this difficulty.

Since there is no normative theory planners assume
varying roles. The effect of playing one role or another
on the politics of planning is not well established but some
hypotheses regarding the anticipated effort can be presented[43].
The political agnostic will generally have the least success
in having his proposals implemented. Not only will he tend
to ignore the needs of the politician but often he will be
hostile to these needs. If his schemes call for broad
sweeping changes and specific commitments from the politician
without regard for that politician's needs, the planner will
generally be ignored. Obviously, the planner who plays the
role of political confident will have a better chance of
seeing his proposals implemented. This success may be due
to the fact that the planning proposals are often altered

to such an extent that they will cause no ripples in the political waters. However, such success may also reflect the ability of the planner to come up with and sell realistic but meaningful proposals. The political activist's chances of success could go either way. By assuming the role of mobilizer, the planner places his job in jeopardy. In addition, the risks associated wihh alienating the political decision-makers in the process of playing the game of obtaining support for his program are great. On the other hand, many planners possess important political resources as has been discussed. These resources can make him very influential. However, few planners are playing the mobilizer role because of the risks and a lack of knowledge on how to use their political resources effectively.

Community Power Structures

The possession and distribution of political resources is a key element in measuring the influence of an individual or group over the formulation of public policy. Despite the fact that elected governmental officials have considerable formal powers which are important political resources, a number of studies have been made which stress the influence of non-governmental groups and people through informal means[44]. Some of these studies of "community power structures" have underplayed the role of formal government to the extent that they have given the impressions that all decisions are made "behind the scenes" by a small elite group of people.

This description of local political behavior gained widespread attention through Floyd Hunter's study of Atlanta[45]. He found that there were a relatively small number (40) of community influentials who used the government as a legitimate bureaucracy to carry out the decisions they had made. This finding became representative of a certain school of thought which contends that power structures are "monolithic". In other words, small influential groups make policy on all

important issues faced by local government. The findings
of a study by Robert Dahl are considerably different than
those of Hunter's and represent an alternative theory of
the nature of community power[46]. This theory holds that
power is "polylithic". The proponents of this theory contend
that different groups are involved in different policy issues
depending on the nature of those issues. According to the
polylithic theory, there is no single elite group that
formulates all public policy but rather, a variety of private
citizens and groups are influential in local decision-making.
In this section we shall explore the relevance of these
diverse findings to the politics of planning. Three questions
are important to and will provide the framework for the
following discussion: What is the structure of power in
local communities? What is the relationship between the
political power weilded by governmental actors and that power
of the non-governmental actors? How would the structure of
power in a community influence the formulation of planning
policy?

Aside from a number of charges of inadequate research
methods, differences in the findings of studies of local
decision-making have been attributed to the distinct possi-
bility that there are a variety of power structures in the
United States[47]. The level of economic development, the
heterogeneity of the population, community size, and the
strength of political parties are among the variables men-
tioned as reasons for why power structures would vary.
This point has been emphasized even more clearly in a
study of 166 community power structure studies conducted by
Claire Gilbert[48]. Figure IV-3 shows a portion of the results
derived from this comparison. In this analysis, communities
that appear to be dominated by "informals" correspond most
closely to monolithic forms of power and those dominated by
the "politicians" most closely to the pluralist theories.
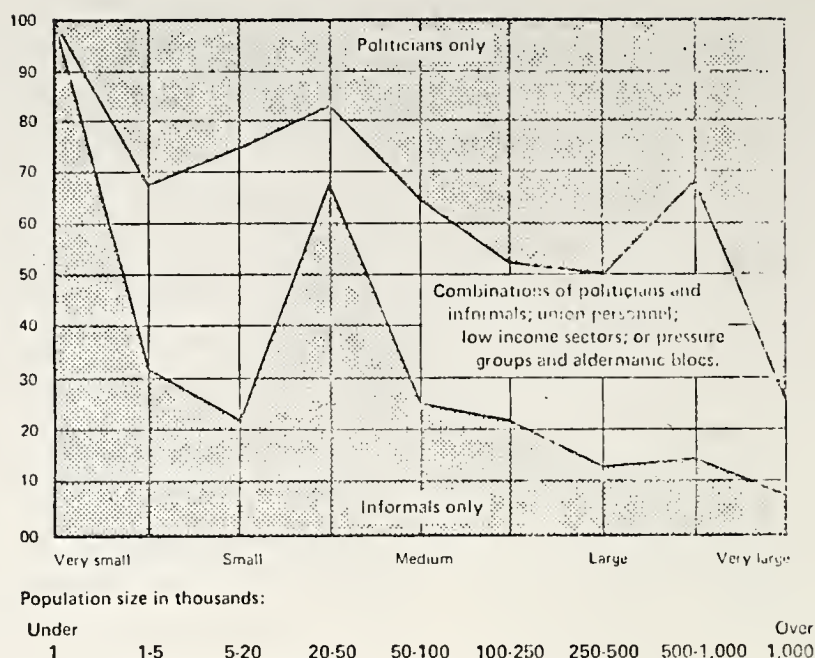
Figure IV-3.   Percentage of Cities Whose Participants In
              Upper Levels of Power are:

Source: Claire Gilbert, "The Study of Community Power", in
The New Urbanization, eds. Greer, et. al. (New York: St.
Martins Press, Inc.,   1968), p. 230.

The picture is clearly one of community power structures
which vary according to population.   However, most studies
have concentrated on a single community thereby creating a
lack of comparative data upon which to base a strong theory
of community power[49].

     There are a few generalizations which may be deduced
from the findings of the various power structure studies.
One is that only a very small percentage of the population
particpates in the formulation of public policy of any sort.
This has held true even in those communities where the power
structure has been described as polylithic.   In Dahl's study,
the total number of influentials for all the issues he chose
were less than one percent of the populace.   The fact that

so few people participate in public policy formulation has
led some observers to wonder whether the old monolithic-
polylithic argument has much meaning. A second generaliza-
tion involves the range of types of power structures that
exist at the local level. It appears that there is no single
power structure in American society. Mann has concluded
that perhaps the most reasonable hypothesis is that there
exists a continuum of power structure types with Hunter's
findings representing one end of the continuum and Dahl's
the other[50]. At both extremes the number of influential
people in relation to the population is very small.

A second important question about power structure is:
What is the relative importance of the governmental and non-
governmental actors in the community decision-making process?
Although a lack of comparative analyses precludes a definitive
answer, several studies of single communities suggests
various possible relationships. If a community has a highly
monolithic power structure, it is probable that the ranking
elected officials would be a part of that structure. Elected
officials could also be important figures in a polylithic
system. The elected officials automatically possesses impor-
tant political resources which when connected with his high
public office only tends to enhance his influence in the
process of public policy formulation.

Non-governmental actors can indirectly influence public
policy by using effectively their political resources on
issues in which they have important stakes. This relation-
ship between the public and private actors is essentially
what Dahl found in New Haven. However, it is also possible
that such indirect and selective influence can be employed
by a closely knit "power elite". A hypothetical, but rather
typical example of this is the formidable political resource
of money as utilized by financial leaders, in particular the
bankers. Mayors of municipalities which are heavily depen-
dent upon these institutions to meet their financial obliga-

tions, have been known to have looked out for the interests of the bankers when making a decision. Thus indirectly the bankers influenced public policy.

A third type of relationship between governmental and non-govermental actors is where private interests make public policy to serve their ends and use the public officials to make this policy legal. Hunter's findings in Atlanta indicated that non-govermental actors were exercising this type of influence. Actual proven cases of this pattern of power are rare. It is possible, however, that some munici- palities are run by a "power elite". For this reason the strong, private, elite decision-makers should be included in the list of alternative relationships between governmental and non-governmental actors involved in local politics.

The above discussion suggests the likelihood that there are a range of different power structures from monolithic to pluralistic. It was also indicated that the control of governmental decisions by non-governmental groups and indi- viduals varies from direct and absolute control to the situa- tion where elected officials have complete latitude in for- mulating public policy. The question of importance now is the relevance of these observations to the formulation of planning policy. There are four areas in which power structure might influence planning decisions. First, the distribution and actual use of political power can directly influence planning policy. Secondly, power structure can hinder or encourage citizen participation in planning. Third, and as it affects public planning policy, the users of power can make developmental decisions through the private market. Finally, current aspects of decision-making are partly deter- mined by past decisions. Therefore, an earlier distribution of power could be highly significant in determining the type of planning policy currently being considered.

The direct influence of power structure on planning decisions is the most obvious type of relationship between

the distribution of political resources and planning policy
formulation. An excellent example of this relationship
can be found from the theory behind the formation of the
citizen planning commission[51]. The idea of having the planner
responsible to a citizen commission, was originally based
on the assumption that every community has a group of gener-
ally "respected and influential" citizens. It was felt that
these citizens would be better able to sell planning pro-
posals to the politicians than the planner himself. Thus,
the citizen commission was established under the assumption
that power structures are monolithic. If a small group is
really making all the important public decisions in a com-
munity, then it is likely that the planner will be more suc-
cessful if he can get the support of that group. Thus, when
a citizen planning commission is working in practice as it
should in theory, planning policy is being directly influenced
by the distribution of political power[52].

Citizen participation in planning is considered highly
important by most professional planners. This ideological
importance was institutionalized by making citizen partici-
pation a part of the workable program which is required by
the Federal government as a prerequisite for obtaining urban
renewal funds. Further, citizen participation has been
strengthened relative to its continued inclusion in the
planning process by passage of the Housing and Community
Development Act of 1974[53]. Therefore, the general topic of
citizen participation in planning provides another link
between power structure and planning policy. Traditionally,
citizen participation has meant that the planners would get
"interested and informed" groups of citizens together and
explain to them what planning involves. Planners have viewed
these sessions primarily as a means of educating the public
on the benefits of planning generally, and of the plan which
has been prepared, specifically [54]. However, citizens have
rarely participated directly in the making of plans. Their

participation has come well after the plans were underway
and has usually been limited to a small segment of the com-
munity. Thus citizen participation has generally occurred
after the fact and has involved only a few "key" members of
the community[55].

Citizen groups which may directly influence planning
are generally made up of people who are ideologically com-
mited to the worth of planning. Examples of such groups
are the civic associations and booster clubs. Members of
these organizations tend to support plans and programs which
aim to improve the metropolis as a whole. Other groups
strictly represent economic interests; i.e., chambers of
commerce, businessmen's associations, and real estate organi-
zations. They look at planning proposals in light of the
economic interests which they represent.

These various citizen organizations do not always
agree with one another on planning issues because they have
different stakes in the outcome. If citizens are really
to participate in planning, conflict among groups points out
the question of how citizens can be effectively utilized
in the planning process. Each group's perception of the
issues and problems, objectives, knowledge and experience
will differ thus involving competition among the participating
citizen elements. Each of these elements is attempting to
get its particular values reflected in the plan. The complex
web of established and ad hoc citizen groups will often be
a fundamental part of the community's power structure. The
nature of citizen involvement in the planning process, there-
fore, can directly influence planning policy decisions. Where
power is highly centralized, small and singularly purposed
citizen groups will be least effective. Groups will have
difficulty in forming and presenting their demands effectively
if these demands contradict the interests of the established
center of power. Under more polylithic political systems,
citizen groups will have a greater chance of success since

there will be more opportunity to find others who will be willing to pool their resources for a common end.

Thus far the discussion of the relevance of power structures to the planning process has been concerned mainly with the potential outcome of immediate conflict situations. If we examine long-range development decisions, there are some additional considerations. One consideration refers to the fact that many, if not most, of the decisions which shape community development are made outside of the public planning process[56]. Generally speaking there are four groups which, in one way or another, make decisions which have a significant impact on development. These include public decision-makers, private firms, developmental intermediaries (such as bankers, lawyers and real estate brokers) and the private citizen. Location and spatial expansion decisions of private firms have a substantial impact on the character of a community. Intermediaries such as engineers, various consultants, lawyers and real estate brokers are the technicians who actually advise and help implement the decisions made by the private firms. Private citizens continuously make decisions about where they will live and shop or how they will move about the city which, when treated as a whole, have a considerable impact on local development patterns. Through the use of his acquired knowledge in the form of an educational role, the planner can enhance his own power by helping to guide these decisions. Furthermore, the actions of private firms, intermediaries and individual citizens impose a significant constraint on development decisions which are made through public policy. Over the long run, this fact decreases the importance which we can attach to a community power structure that exists at any time. Thus, the intermediaries set significant limits on what the public planners and the power structure can do.

Mann has suggested a second consideration in our evaluation of the importance of power structure to long-range plan-

ning policy[57]. He argues that the importance of the con-
cept of power structure to planning can be overstressed.
Discussions of power structures usually leave out the time
dimension of community decision-making. Yet community
development takes place as a result of a whole series of
interrelated decisions which are made over a considerable
span of time. Given the perspective of time, influence
over the outcome of decisions is only a part of the total
process of planning policy formulation. Therefore, over
the long run, the distribution of political resources at
any given time may not be a very important element in deter-
mining planning policy.

Both of the considerations above suggest that the im-
portance of community power structure as a determinant of
planning policy can be greatly overstressed. This is
particularly true when the development of planning policy
over a period of time is analyzed. On the other hand, the
distribution and use of political resources in a community
can be a key element in determining how the political system
will react to specific proposals made by the planner.

Community Social and Economic Characteristics

The nature of the social and economic characteristics of
a   community is an additional determinant of political
involvement in planning. In Chapter II, when this idea was
introduced and partially discussed, it was shown that dif-
ferent kinds of municipalities in metropolitan areas are
faced with different planning issues. To a large extent,
these issues define the task of the planner. His goals and
objectives address themselves to the issues and problems con-
fronting the community. Further, since these issues and
problems are strongly influenced by community characteristics,
they also influence the actors, stakes, resources and strat-
egies that become involved in the planning process.

Social and economic characteristics influence political

involvement in planning in other ways. The relationship
between these characteristics and planning issues means
that both the content of the plan as well as the daily im-
plementation activities of the planner will, in part, be
influenced by the social and economic characteristics of
the community. Furthermore, as was suggested earlier in
this chapter, the aspect of local political culture that
is concerned with planning may be linked with the social
and economic characterisitcs of the people who reside in
a given locality. Thus, for all of these reasons, community
socio-economic characteristics are important determinants
of the nature of political involvement in planning.

Summary

A key aspect of the formulation of planning policy is
the generation and management of either actual or potential
conclict. The political process of managing conflict involves
a transformation of human values into legally binding public
policy. Since all groups and individuals in our society do
not share common values, planning and politics cannot be
separated. The manner in which the planner's technical and
value judgements are molded into public policy depends on
which actors become involved in the decision-making process,
what stakes they have in the outcome of that process, the
political resources which they possess and the way in which
they utilize them. Further, the interaction of actors,
stakes, resources, and strategies is greatly influenced by
metropolitanism. This not only makes the process of metro-
politan planning difficult, it also compounds the nature of
the conflict which the planner must confront and, in some
instances, prevents his being able to differentiate among
the types of political interests what will be involved in
the planning issue at hand.

An attempt was made to generalize about the kinds of

circumstances which are apt to produce stakes, and thus in-
volvement, in planning policy formulation. Some ideas con-
cerning these circumstances were developed which dealt gen-
erally with the nature of the politics of planning. Sub-
sequent analysis showed that the level of political involve-
ment in the planning process varies widely from issue to
issue and community to community. On the basis of several
case studies, personal observation, and reasoning, hypotheses
were postulated to aid in explaining this variation. Further
research is needed to test the realiability of these hypothe-
ses and to develop them in greater detail. Generally, how-
ever, political involvement in planning varies due to dif-
ferences in the dimensions of planning policy, the role
played by the planner, the power structure in the community
and the socio-economic character of the community. These
generalizations help provide a deeper understanding of the
politics of planning.

Urban Political Systems: Theoretical Perspectives

The emphasis of this chapter has been to determine how
various political factors influence the formulation of plan-
ning policy in a metropolitan area. We noted that the planner
today must cope with planning issues which have been generated
by metropolitanism. They must meet these issues in a context
of rapid social change in which low-income groups and minority
groups are demanding that their priorities and values be
given the same weight as those of all other elements of
society. Planners today face a more complex environment
where the policies of one municipality affect other munici-
palities and where planning, of any type, has an immediate
and profound effect on the whole socio-economic fabric of
large regions of this country. As previously alluded to in
Chapter II, these changes have generated some rethinking of
the entire planning process, thus raising a number of theoret-
ical issues which, when resolved, may change the nature of

the planning process considerably. As pertains to the subject
matter of this chapter, one theoretical issue involves the
need for a normative theory of urban political systems which
could be used by the planner as a guide in dealing with the
complex issues of a metropolis.

To visualize a general framework for examination of
urban political functions in a metropolitan context would
be an impossible task were it not for the availability of
the concepts of systems analysis. The urban political sys-
tem, as defined, encompasses those interactions primarily
related to the "authoritative allocation of values" internal
to urban society[58]. "Authoritative" implies allocations
that are held to be legitimately binding on society; in
other words, those backed by governmental power. "Values"
include the whole gamut of goods, services, power, and ideo-
logical or social satisfactions that government may allocate.
This approach permits one to sort out the wealth of factors
involved with inputs, outputs, structures, and processes of
metropolitan politics. Figure IV-4 presents a highly sim-
plified scheme for visualizing the urban political system.

The figure suggests, in the first place, that urban
politics is an open system: that is, one strongly influenced
by inputs from its environment. (Its environment includes
all those interactions not included within the urban political
system itself.) Demographic, social and economic events in
national society and within the metropolis itself not only
are conditioning factors, but generate and shape demands upon
urban government. Some of the effects of environmental fac-
tors, particularly of urban growth itself and concomitant
migration and industrialization, upon political demands and
upon the governmental characteristics that respond to them
were pointed out in Chapters II and III. One major impact
of the urban environment is to raise rapidly the total volume
of demands upon government. The complex content of those
demands increases both the difficulty of response to them
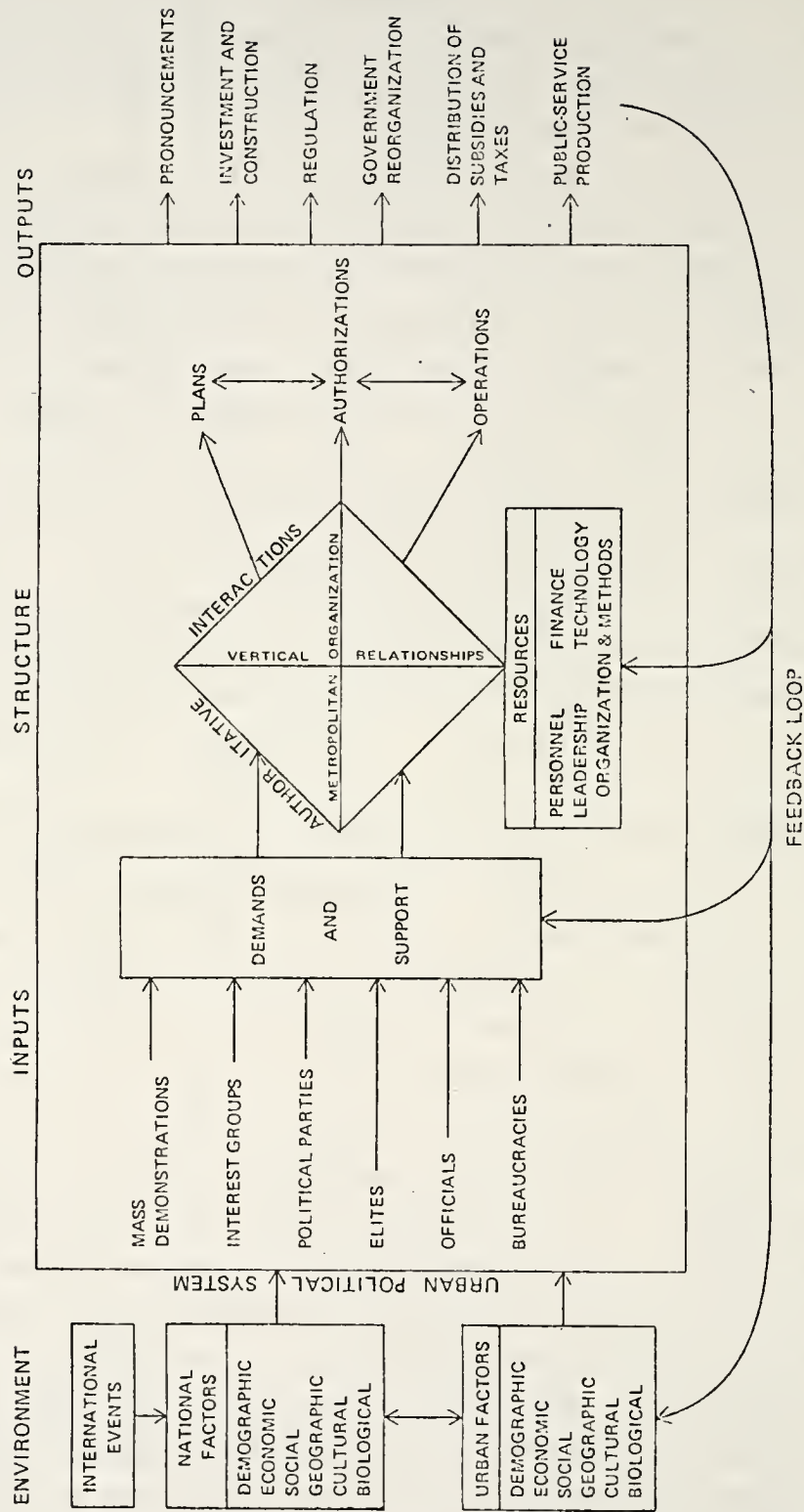
Figure IV-4. A Model of the Urban Political System

and the needs for certain types of skill and organization.

Within the urban political system, the actors involved in expressing demands on government and in competing for political power are shown on the input side of the diagram. These generally include, as was described in this chapter, various governmental and non-governmental actors to include political parties, interest groups, and unstructured crowds. David Easton has suggested a shortcut by positing "demands" and "support" as variables that comprise the relevant aspects of input activities[59]. In other words, one need ask only what kinds of demands these actors put on urban government and how they generate patterns of support or opposition for government in general and for policy responses in particular.

This chapter pointed out that the relative roles of the various input participants in shaping demands vary considerably from area to area. Initiation of urban-service demands more often rested with politicians in office and bureaucrats than with non-governmental groups. In many cases, however, mass demonstrations and interest groups had an important impact on mobilization of support or opposition to particular planning policy issues. Where the generators of support or opposition were not aggregated in coalitions, it was suggested that the chances for governmental inertia were increased.

Governmental structure is represented in the middle of the diagram in Figure IV-4. This is the segment of the urban political system that was the focus of attention in Chapter III. Within the diamond-shaped box fall the activities of the various central and local authorities that produce the outputs of urban government. The structural relationships within urban government can be visualized on two intersecting dimensions: that of metropolitan organization and that of vertical intergovernmental relations. This research has disclosed the close interdependence between events on these two dimensions. Organization of urban functions on the metro-

politan level depends, in part, upon the distribution of
governmental roles on the vertical axis as was illustrated
in Chapter III. Clearly, if major powers remain at the top,
for example, a mixture of local authorities does not serve
to integrate urban functions at the metropolitan level. In
such a case, central functions would have to be integrated
at the metropolitan level to achieve that end. Therefore,
the structural aspects of metropolitan organization included
departmental arrangements in addition to interlocal coopera-
tion, special authorities, and metropolitan government. In
all cases, the key variable being examined was the degree
to which governmental interactions were integrated at the
metropolitan level or were segmented in separate functional
or geographic whirlpools of decision making.

The vertical dimension was analyzed in Chapter III,
which identified several of its components—distribution of
purposes or public service responsibilities, distribution
of processes or governmental roles, distribution of financial
resources, and patterns of control and communication. These
components were related to the formal structural ties among
the tiers of government—ranging from a layering of separate
governments (ending in independent local governments) to a
hierarchy of field administration, with three intermediate
types identified.

The findings indicated that vertical interagency rela-
tionships are as dynamic and interdependent as those on the
metropolitan dimension. This interdependence can be accounted
for, in large part, by the prevailing distribution of roles,
which generally finds central authorization of an important
proportion of funds coexisting with local operations. The
flow of influence is in all cases reciprocal, with the rela-
tive intensity of the upward and downward vectors subject to
considerable variation. The findings also indicated that
most of the changes made on this dimension in the course of
energetic urban-development efforts (i.e., high-volume res-

ponse to a high load of demands) involved not as much inten-
sifying the flow in one direction or another as increasing
roles and resources all along the vertical line.

The intensity and scope of interactions on the verti-
cal dimension with those on the metropolitan dimension deter-
mine the degree to which urban functions are integrated or
segmented. Totally fragmented government could be posited
as one extreme and visualized as an unconnected set of isolated
special agencies or policy subsystems scattered throughout
the box, each responding to separate sets of demands and
depending upon separate sources of support. Conversely,
totally integrated government would find all the actors
ranged along the two lines with maximum flow of communications
carried along both. All demands and support fed into the
system would be aggregated and, in the process, weighed and
interrelated to produce a comprehensive and complementary
set of outputs.

The above contrast suggests, however, a relationship
between demands and governmental structure: The more inter-
dependent the demands, the more coordinated the interactions
within the structure must be in order to respond to all of
them. The relatively high interdependence of urban problems
is readily apparent. Clearly, when one group demands side-
walk space for walking and another group calls for sidewalk
space for selling, both cannot be satisfied by completely
independent sets of action. This relationship is a fairly
easy one to work out, however, by bargaining or fiat. But
demands for urban housing, transportation, and jobs raise
more difficult problems. Coordination required in an urban
area is not simply between demands of different groups, but
also between different, and not always complementary, demands
of the same groups. This kind of relationship cannot be
worked out merely by bargaining between groups, for it re-
quires intellectual and technical operations within the
government structure as well. Thus, the role of analytical

planning relative to that of bargaining will increase with
the degree of response to complex and interrelated demands
of this type.

It is important to note that the separate portions of
the whole diagram represent not different persons or institu-
tions but conceptually different types of activity. Bureau-
crats and elected officials not only populate the govern-
mental structure box, but also are represented on the input
side. To a large extent, their values and quests for power
generate demands and support with which the system must cope.
The importance of "administrative politics" was noted in
Chapter I. To the degree that the government structure
gives advantages to certain official participants, it has a
feedback effect on the inputs. First, there seems to be a
relationship between some aspects of structural decentraliza-
tion and the tendency of local officials to generate demands
for action on metropolitan-wide problems, and vice versa.
And, third, the degree to which the bureaucracy is granted
formal authority independent of political direction may
raise its role in defining desirable standards for urban life.

The resources of urban government are depicted in the
diagram as the foundation of the government structure. Not
only do these resources provide the parameters of the struc-
ture's capability to handle demands, but the structure of
authorities itself influences the level of resources. Some
of these resources were discussed in Chapter III. However,
it was pointed out that both the resources devoted to urban
government and their distribution relative to the distribution
of demand-response ultimately determine the capability of the
system to respond to urban problems. Similarly, financial
resources depend in part on the ability of governments within
the metropolis to maximize their own revenues and in part
upon the ability of urban interests to claim funds in federal
allocation processes. Administrative procedures are, in fact,
shaped not only by the rules of one administrative entity,

but also by the vertical relationships within the specialized
bureaucracies. Environmental factors also have direct effects
upon resources, as well as upon demands and support for the
system. The influence of cultural and educational traits
on personnel resources was suggested, for example. The
links between the general state of the economy and public
finance are, of course, direct.

The outputs of the political system are proximately
shaped by the interactions within the government structure
that produce plans, authorizations, and operations bearing
on the metropolis. These are represented at the right side
of the diagram. Plans here include formal plan documents as
well as official policy statements, which although they do
not alter the physical environment, may alter the psychologi-
cal and political environment and thereby influence demands
and support flowing into the system in the future. Govern-
ment plans that promise to improve urban housing may create
or reinforce demands for such improvement, or if unfulfilled
over time, they may sustain apathy and cynicism. Planning
itself means far more than plan documents that are categorized
here as outputs. Planning, like bargaining, is a process
or style of interaction among the authorities within the
structural box.

The interrelationships among plans, authorizations, and
operations will be discussed in Chapter V. It is clear at
the outset, however, that these are not one-way processes,
although some planners and administrators may dream of
situations in which decisions are directly deduced from plans
and operations are deduced from politically formalized deci-
sions. It has been shown, however, that sequential decisions,
as they take place over time, alter the choices repre-
sented in the best of plans. Moreover, operating management
encompasses a wide range of decisions that themselves may
alter the intended impact of major authorizations. The de-
gree to which the operating bureaucracy diverges from the
thrust of political authorizations — or to the degree to

which rule-application agencies become competing rule-making
agencies—varies considerably.

One concern of this research has been to study the im-
pact of governmental structure and patterns of official inter-
action on political outputs in the urban setting. Because
of the interest in the pace and quality of urban development,
this study has focused upon the ramifications of structure
for innovative and realistic plans, speedy and comprehensive
authorization of programs, and efficient operations. These
output characteristics are functions, however, of all the
other components in the system as well. Hence, it will be
no simple task for future research to clarify the cause-
and-effect relationships—or, more accurately, the reliable
correlations—in urban political systems.

What finally reaches the urban public are the manifesta-
tions of governmental outputs. These are, essentially, the
stakes for which many participants in the political system
were competing. Some of these, such as investment and con-
struction, shape the physical environment. Others, such
as public-service production, distribute commodities to
urban citizens. Pronouncements influence the attitudes of
the public. Taxes and subsidies, in effect, redistribute
values, monetary or otherwise, among segments of the public.
And regulation controls the relationships among groups and
constrains their freedom of action. Some legal measures,
of course, directly change the structure of government and
its resources[60].

Therefore, the "feedback loop" in Figure IV-4 represents
the continuous dynamics of the urban political system, for
today's outputs will influence tomorrow's environment, demands,
support, structure, and resources. Some of these influences
are intended by the producers of the actions when shaping
them. Many of the outcomes are unanticipated, however. The
more complex and changing the environment, the greater the
information and analytical technology required to foresee the

results of governmental action. Given the limits on both, there is always an element of uncertainty and readjustment in urban government. As has been noted, internal arrange- ments to expand information flow (e.g., certain types of decentralization, statistics collection, research and plan- ning, interagency communication, etc.) can increase the ability of the actors to identify and deal with complex variables and, therefore, to reduce uncertainty as to the outcomes of their actions.

In the long run, the change wrought in the urban envir- onment, by government stimulate new demands, expectations, and patterns of support that feed back into the system. Conversely, lack of change wrought by government may sustain the status quo and reinforce public apathy, but in light of the monumental growth of urban problems, sooner or later pent-up demand is likely to burst through into the system, unless political channels are very tightly controlled. The degree of feedback and the multiplicity of sources of demand will be directly related to the degree of pluralism in the political system as a whole.

This image of the urban political system highlights the enormous research tasks confronting the urban scholar, for very little is really known about the interactions that comprise it within a single system. There are as many ways of selecting segments of the system and looking at them as there are students of the subject. This research has found sufficient evidence to conclude that government struc- ture is not irrelevant to output. It is a prism that may refract political forces in any one of several directions.

Notes

1. Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, Governing New York City (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960), pp. 372-380.

2.   Norton Long, "Planning and Politics in Urban Development", _Journal of the American Institute of Planners_, vol. 25, no. 4 (November 1959), p. 168.

3.   One excellent reference which should be read by anyone interested in this subject is _Planning and Politics, Uneasy Partnership_, edited by Thad Beyle and George Lathrop. The author considers the article by Deil S. Wright, "Governmental Forms and Planning Functions" must reading for all advocates of metropolitan planning.

4.   Non-governmental participants are those individuals and groups who are not a part of the local government but who discover that particular planning decisions can potentially affect them in some way.

5.   Francine F. Rabinovitz, _City Politics and Planning_ (New York: Atherton Press, 1970), pp. 14-22.

6.   Three studies have been relied upon for this purpose: Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, _Governing New York City_ (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960), Chapters II, III, and IV; Robert A. Dahl, _Who Governs? Democracy and Power in An American City_ (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), Chapters IV and V; and, J. Clarence Davies, III, _Neighborhood Groups and Urban Renewal_ (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), passim.

7.   Alan Altshuler, _The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis_ (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), Chapter I.

8.   Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, _Governmental Functions and Processess: Local and Area-wide_, vol. IV, _Substate Regionalism and the Federal System_ (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 3-11. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, _Governmental Functions_.)

9.   Martha Derthick, _Between State and Nation_ (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1974), pp. 195-204.

10. Harold Lasswell, _Politics: Who Gets What, When, How_ (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1958), pp. 148-163.

11. Robert Cassidy, "St. Louis Tunes Out the Blues", _Planning_, vol, 40, no. 3 (March 1974), pp. 14-20.

12. Robert Dahl, _Modern Political Analysis_ (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 14-20.

13. Sayre and Kaufman, City, p. 42.

14. Graham Wootton, Interest Groups (Englewood Cliffs,
    N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 45-72.

15. Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, pp. 54-58.

16. One area where technical knowledge has not had an im-
    pact in terms of obtaining federal monies has been the
    Department of Housing and Urban Development's housing
    program. An interesting dicussion of this failure is
    found in Anthony Downs, Urban Problems and Prospects
    (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970), Chapters 4,
    5, and 6.

17. Sheldon Plager and Joel Handler, "The Politics of Plan-
    ning for Urban Redevelopment: Strategies in the Mani-
    pulation of Public Law," Wisconsin Law Review (Summer
    1966), pp. 724-775.

18. Dahl, American City, pp. 271-275.

19. Alan Campbell, "A Political Science Approach to Planning
    Change", Planning Socio-Economic Change (Raleigh, North
    Carolina: Agricultural Policy Institute, 1964), pp.
    57-69.

20. Marion Clawson, Suburban Land Conversion in the United
    States: An Economic and Governmental Process (Baltimore:
    The John Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 101-109.

21. David Ranney, Planning and Politics in the Metropolis
    (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publ. Co., 1969),
    pp. 120-129.

22. It should be noted here that a single planning policy
    proposal may actually raise a number of separate issues
    to a variety of different actors.

23. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR),
    Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide
    (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963),
    pp. 33-52.

24. The original idea and the major parts of the framework
    for intermediate-range planning is credited by the plan-
    ning profession to the following work: Martin Meyerson,
    "Building the Middle-Range Bridge for Comprehensive Plan-
    ning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners,
    vol. 22, no. 2 (Spring 1956), pp. 58-64.

25. International City Managers' Association (ICMA), _Principles and Practice of Urban Planning_ (Washington: The Association, 1968), pp. 379-387.

26. Such plans would be what Fagin and others have called the "policies plan". It would consider the quality of education, the nature of social welfare services, etc. See Henry Fagin, "Organizing and Carrying Out Planning Activities Within Urban Government", _Journal of the American Institute of Planners_, vol. 25, no. 3 (August 1959), pp. 109-114.

27. Ranney first postulated the usefulness of a cube diagram in visualizing the relationships and their extent relative to the influence of planning type on the politics of planning. The ensuing discussion introduces a modified version of that cube the investigation of which forms the basis of political involvement in planning issues. David C. Ranney, _Planning and Politics in the Metropolis_, pp. 142-144.

28. Although a very narrowly conceived plan can generate intensive conflict, that conflict will tend to center around a specific issue, while the more comprehensive plan will generate conflict over a number of issues.

29. Edward Banfield and James Q. Wilson, _City Politics_ (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press and Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 202-203.

30. Altshuler, _Political Analysis_, pp. 299-332.

31. ICMA, _Principles and Practice_, pp. 349-360.

32. Altshuler, _Political Analysis_, pp. 84-143, passim.

33. Banfield and Wilson, _City Politics_, pp. 58-60.

34. ACIR, _Performance of Urban Functions_, pp. 211-217.

35. James G. Coke, "Antecedents of Local Planning", in _Principles and Practice of Urban Planning_, eds. William I. Goodman and Eric C. Freund (Washington: International City Managers' Association, 1968), pp. 15-19.

36. Oliver Williams, "A Typology for Comparative Local Government", _Midwest Journal of Political Science_ (May 1961), pp. 150-164.

37. Banfield and Wilson, _City Politics_, pp. 59-60.

38. For a critique of the Banfield-Wilson hypothesis see

Raymond Wolfinger and John Field, "Political Ethos and the Structure of City Government", American Political Science Review (June 1966), pp. 545-561.

39. Francine F. Rabinovitz, City Politics and Planning (New York: Atherton Press, 1970), pp. 112-117.

40. Francine F. Rabinovitz, "Politics, Personality and Planning", Public Administration Review (March 1967), pp. 18-24.

41. Altshuler, Political Analysis, Chapters VII and VIII; also see p. 392.

42. Robert A. Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), passim.

43. For a more detailed discussion, see Peter Nash and James Shurtleff, "Planning As a Staff Function in Urban Management", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol.20, no. 3 (Summer 1954), pp. 136-147.

44. A good annotated bibliography of the power structure literature between 1950 and 1962 may be found in Charles Press, Main Street Politics: Policy Making at the Local Level (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, 1962).

45. Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), passim.

46. Dahl, American City, pp. 333-367.

47. It is not within the purpose of this research to perform an analytical critique of the methodology and techniques utilized in the various community power structure studies. For a critical analysis of a variety of power structure studies see Nelson Polsby, Community Power and Political Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); and, Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, Power and Poverty (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 3-16.

48. Claire Gilbert, "The Study of Community Power: A Summary and a Test", in The New Urbanization, eds. Scott Greer, et. al. (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1968), pp. 222-245.

49. A notable exception is Robert Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, The Rulers and The Ruled (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964). In this study four communities are compared.

50. Lawrence D. Mann, "Studies in Community Decision Making", _Journal of the American Institute of Planners_, vol. 30, no. 1, (February 1964), pp. 58-65.

51. See the previous discussion in Chapter III and the references cited there.

52. Charles Adrian and Charles Press, _Governing Urban America_ (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 313-315.

53. Under Title I of the Act, the previous categories of community development programs, e.g., urban renewal, water and sewer grants, Model Cities, rehabilitation loans, public facility loans, open space land, neighborhood facilities, urban beautification and historic preservation programs are consolidated. Funds in the form of block grants are allocated on a formula based on population, overcrowded housing, and poverty (counted twice), to cities of more than 50,000 population, and urban counties.

54. James Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," _Journal of the American Institute of Planners_, vol. 29, no. 4 (November 1963), pp. 242-249.

55. Davies, _Urban Renewal_, pp. 139-151.

56. Clyde Wingfield, "Power Structure and Decision Making in City Planning", in _Administrative Questions and Political Answers_, eds. Claude Hawley and Ruth Weintraub (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1966), pp. 226-232.

57. Mann, "Decision Making", pp. 60-64.

58. This phrase and several subsequent concepts have been derived from David Easton, _Systems Ananysis of Political Life_ (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965), passim. See also Kenneth L. Kraemer, _Policy Analysis in Local Government, A Systems Approach to Decision Making_ (Washington: International City Management Association, 1973), pp. 131-137.

59. Easton, _Political Life_, pp. 76-115.

60. Kraemer, _Policy Analysis_, pp. 43-44.

CHAPTER V

TOWARDS A NORMATIVE THEORY OF METROPOLITAN PLANNING

Planning for whom, what, when, where and how is the most important and, at the same time, the most vexing set of development issues faced by local planning agencies in the metropolis. To gain an appreciation of the sense of importance that is attached to the task of defining development goals and objectives, it is only necessary to examine a few of the many definitions of planning and accompanying descriptions of the planning process.[1] Central to all of these is the notion of process and of goal orientation. Planning is viewed as a series of related actions and decisions that are organized around and moving toward the accomplishment of predefined objectives. The goals and objectives themselves are viewed as the cornerstone of the planning process, for, in theory, they constitute the framework for public and private decision making.

While the definitions and descriptions attest to the theoretical importance of defining development objectives, planning practitioners will readily attest to the difficulty of establishing a set of operational community goals. Their skepticism is understandable, for there are many unanswered and perhaps unanswerable questions regarding the definition of development objectives. How, for example, can planners encourage citizens to be concerned with the shape of their community at a point some 20 or even 10 years from now? How can conflicts between competing interest groups be resolved? Is it possible for a community to move beyond a local legislator's conception of the public interest? Can it be assumed that legislators will make decisions that contribute

to the accomplishment of long-range objectives, even when these decisions may conflict with more immediate demands? In short, is it possible to define development objectives and, once defined, can they be implemented in a meaningful way?

These are indeed complex and difficult questions to answer. Such difficulty accounts, no doubt, for the fact that many planning programs have, in the past, virtually ignored this element of planning. There is, however, some evidence which indicates that planning agencies are attempting to remedy this situation.[2]

This chapter will discuss and analyze the concept of normative planning as an areawide planning process of policy analysis for the management of urban change in metropolitan areas. Prior findings of this research have borne out several points pertinent to an affirmative conclusion as regards the original hypothesis — the current theory and practice of urban planning are inadequate for combating the challenges posed by the forces of metropolitanization even when coupled with local government reorganization strategies. The crux of the evidence and discussion supporting this conclusion are contained in Chapter III. In essence, the functions associated with areawide planning require an areawide governmental basis. Chapter IV, however, pinpointed what was alluded to in Chapter II. The resolution of metropolitan planning issues into planning policies is a politically-charged and conflict-laden endeavor involving highly fragmented and multinucleated structures of semi-independent groups and organizations in both the public and private sectors. As this chapter will illustrate, traditional urban planning processes are incapable of handling such policies planning procedures.

In support of the above, the purpose herein is to examine the theory of urban planning and analyze its traditional style in relation to its achievements. From

this analysis, several corollaries for restructing the planning process into a normative framework will be attempted in conjunction with suggested strategies of governmental reorganization for the metropolis. The incorporation of strategies for political intervention, responsibility sharing and change-management are viewed as essential elements within the constructs of this framework. Procedures for the establishment and placement of a Metropolitan Planning and Development Authority within the recommended structure of an areawide government will be posited. The Authority's functions in relation to the normative planning framework will be identified and discussed. Finally, the roles of State and Federal governments in initiating the necessary incentives, controls and legislation required for implementing these strategies of metropolitan reform will be elucidated.

The Concept of Policies Planning

American planning programs are undergoing close scrutiny and concomitant transformations largely resulting from a recognition by the profession that their past performance in formulating and implementing large-scale policies aimed at ameliorating urban social and economic problems has been in-effective at best, and nonexistant at worst.[3] Despite the expenditure of millions of dollars over the past fifty years to produce a myriad of comprehensive plans for urban development, few cities in the United States have been developed or substantially redeveloped in accordance with the plan. Attempts to require comprehensive planning in federal housing, transportation, and community development programs have been less than successful.[4] Academic curricula dedicated to teaching plan-making are being questioned and repudiated by a sizable element of the profession and its critics.[5] The "noiseless secession from the comprehensive plan" is forcing planners to redefine their goals and

objectives and to search for new roles and functions.[6]
Alternatives range from national environmental and physical
planning, through a wide variety of social, economic, and
technical planning specialties, to neighborhood and minority
group advocacy. Concepts, styles, and methodologies run an
equally broad gamut.[7]

Increasingly within the profession is being argued the
point that planners can perform an important role as urban
policy analysts. With the increasing complexity of urban
decision making, political leaders and urban administrators
are demanding from planners pragmatic assistance with policy
formulation and implementation. A recent statement by
Herbert Gans depicts the nature of this calling:[8]

> ...cities want advice on how to choose the
> right goals and the most effective policies
> for every function of government, and similar
> advice is being sought by all institutions
> and groups who seek to frame their goals and
> policies in a deliberate manner from Federal
> agencies, civic groups and protest organiza-
> tions to corporations and semipublic
> institutions.

Underlying the pressures to transform planning into a
policy science is a widely held assumption that planning can
bring order and rationality to urban policy making. Friedmann
recently challenged the profession "to undertake the
courageous and systematic evaluation of societal performance
and to identify the strategic points for massive innovation
in the guidance of the system."[9] Bolan argues that planners,
operating within the behavioral parameters of the community
decision making process, must adapt their functions to the
procedural steps of urban policy making: structuring and
defining proposals, identifying the properties of alter-
natives, structuring the decision field, and engaging in and
implementing decisions.[10] Altshuler predicts that new
missions will be required, "the purpose of which will be to
provide men who have emerged as potentially important

decision makers with some broad planning perspectives and a capacity for systematic analysis of policy options."[11]

Policies planning, or some derivation of the term, is being used with increasing frequency in the literature of planning. Many planning reports are coming to be called "policies plans", and the subject matter of policies planning is the topic of several articles about planning.[12] Frequency of use, however, does not mean that there is common agreement as to the nature and purpose of policies planning. Although there are planning reports which are called policies plans, and there are a few definitions of the phrase, there appears to be no general agreement as to its meaning. The differences of opinion are, in some cases, only minor disagreements centering around questions of terminology or emphasis. In other cases the differences appear more basic, the result of fundamentally different approaches to the subject.[13]

Stuart Chapin, in his analysis of the relationship between planning and policy, made the following observation concerning the different meanings ascribed to the concept of policies planning:[14]

> Some view these policies plans as something
> akin to a statement of general principles
> for planning, and they are thus formulated
> before plans are developed. Others consider
> them to be embodied in the plans themselves,
> and when a plan is officially adopted, the
> proposals contained in the plan become
> official urban land use policies. Still a
> third usage considers them to be statements
> of the directions in which the urban area
> should move in order to achieve the ob-
> jectives of, and implement the proposals
> contained in, a plan. For example, in this
> sense policies might take the form of general
> specifications for zoning, urban renewal,
> and such.

Quite apart from the traditional philosophy of comprehensive planning that sought to devise a long-range ideal end state for metropolitan development in the framework of a synoptic master plan, policies planning seeks to deal with

pressing problems of urban life by influencing the substance
and direction of on-going public decision making. Policies
planning is action-oriented rather than plan-oriented. It
attempts intervention rather than mere prescription. Policies
planning is concerned with making an incremental impact on
national as well as local policies affecting the proper
allocation and quality of areawide services in addition to
monitoring those policies used specifically to secure a
balanced rate and distribution of metropolitan growth. It
involves the organization and evaluation of the programs as
well as policy design. Therefore, policies planning is the
management of metropolitan change.

The above descriptive interpretation of the concept of
policies planning should not be misconstrued as the final
word regarding an eventual definition of that phrase. Others
more knowledgable than the author will find fault with
the intended meaning herein. Further, a definition of the
concept appears to be premature at this point, given the
often acknowledged disadvantages of attempting theory formu-
lation and hypotheses testing within the static constraints
of concensus and precision.[15]   For purposes of this chapter,
this assessment of the concept of policies planning is
posited as sufficient for encompassing the intentions of
many prior worthwhile efforts and is thus deemed suitable
for any further discussions as regards the development of a
normative framework for metropolitan planning.

There is little question that present concerns for de-
veloping a concept of policies planning and subsequent
strategies of policy analysis will continue to have a profound
impact on the traditional planning process: on the prepara-
tion and significance of the comprehensive plan, on the
interaction of planners with government officials and private
citizens, on implementation tools and techniques. Further,
the characteristics of urban policy making, as depicted in
Chapter IV, will largely determine the nature of the required

modifications to the concept and approaches of planning and thus, are central to an assessment of the implications for the planning profession. Because of their vital importance in formulating a broad framework of normative planning for metropolitan areas, the following summary of these characteristics is warranted.

1. Policy making and thus policies planning are inherently political rather than deliberative processes. As processes of political interaction, policy evolves from a process of interorganizational conflict over a wide variety of values, criteria, ends, means, and interpretations of rationality.[16] Through political interaction and social adjustment, the decisions and priorities of the participants in policy making are ratified, altered, compromised, or rejected. Indeed, policy making often transcends deliberative problem solving; as a process of political interaction, it is more complex and distinctly different from individual decision making.[17]

2. Policy is formulated and implemented through fragmented and multinucleated organizational structures composed of formal and informal actors in both public and private sectors, and through a complex system of delegation of responsibility and control. If New Deal policy making taught any lessons, one was the difficulty of controlling either the evolution of policy proposals through legislative enactment or the implementation of policy through administrative management.[18] Power resources are fragmented and widely dispersed. Points of leverage are multiple and decentralized. Policy is formulated and implemented by a multitude of organizations with highly specialized personnel, information, technical expertise, analytical skills, and influence resources. Each group pursues its own perceptions of its interests and its own conception of the public interest. A potentially large number of them gain veto or or delaying power over enactment of urban policy proposals

and carve out domains or spheres of influence over program implementation.[19]

Once enacted, policies must be implemented through a highly decentralized governmental structure.[20] Discretionary authority, regulatory control, allocational responsibility, and approval powers are fragmented through systems of inter-agency and intergovernmental delegation. Regional development policy is implemented through a quagmire of inter-governmental hybrids.[21] Further, the reticulate pattern of delegation and authority extends beyond government into the private sector. The policy boards of the Model Cities and Economic Development District agencies are composed of local special interest groups, business and labor representatives, civic and service organizations, as well as local, State, and other government officials. In the traditional sense of administrative responsibility, Federal departments providing urban development assistance cannot be held accountable for the outcomes of policies they are assigned to implement. They must rely increasingly on State and local government officials to define local problems, formulate appropriate policy responses, and interpret and implement Federal guide-lines. Lines of power and responsibility are intertwined by interdepartmental agreements, delegate agency mandates, and inter governmental contracts, most of which are difficult to enforce formally and have little legal standing.[22] Enforce-ment comes through informal pressure and manipulation. The ability to guide, let alone plan in a comprehensive fashion for metropolitan development policies, is highly complicated and narrowly constrained by delegation.

3. Policy problems are complex, amorphous, and difficult to define concisely. Urban policies planning is limited, moreover, by political parameters on defining the problem. Problems become the focus of policy making to the extent that specialized groups and coalitions can bring public attention to them. Each interested participant places a

different emphasis on a different component of the problem
or attempts to redefine the whole problem in terms of a part.

   4. Problem perception, policy planning, political
response and program implementation are characterized by
long lead and lag times. Comprehensive analysis and co-
ordinated control of policy programs are further constrained
by the long lag and lead times inherent in political inter-
vention. Lags develop between the emergence of a problem
and public recognition. Acknowledgement of a problem's
existence does not assure allocations of public resources
for its solution; lags exist until proponents can mobilize
a coalition of support, resolve conflicts with opponents,
and gain concensus on appropriate policy responses. Also
lags occur between the proposal of policies and their
legislative enactment. Additionally, long leads occur be-
tween the planning and organization of policy programs and
the identification and evaluation of their effects.[23]
Furthermore, the conditions under which policies and programs
were formulated change during both lag and lead times. Per-
ceptions and definitions of the problem, degree of involve-
ment, personalities, and the stakes associated with antici-
pated outcomes change; the strength of demands and support
of sponsoring and opposing interest groups shift. The
problem or issue may be partially or totally displaced from
public attention.

   5. Systematic analysis and program evaluation are com-
plicated by the difficulties of determining real policy
output. Dror's distinction between the nominal output of a
program (reports, projects, rules, trained manpower, etc.)
and the real output (substantive effects of policies on
conditions they were designed to correct) has significance
for policies planning.[24] Ultimately a value judgement is
required to decide the worth of the programs resulting from
policy making: systematic analysis and quantitative

evaluation must yield to political and social subjectivity.
In the same view, determining how much of a policy appropria-
tion should be assigned to each component program needed to
carry out the intentions of that policy is purely a matter
of administrative judgement. No mathematical computations
or maximizing formula can solve this problem.[25]

6. Facts, information, and statistics used to analyze
policy alternatives are subjectively interpreted through
preconceived specialized interests. Even if "objective"
indicators of "optimal" courses of action could be determined
the data would not be treated objectively. Not only the
substance of policy but facts and statistics also become
the subject of debate and conflict.[26] Quantitative data
are rarely interpreted by participants independently of
their role perceptions, subjective expectations, preconceived
interests, and ideological predispositions.[27]

7. The number of possible alternatives for ameliorating
policy problems is indeterminate. Alternatives evolve
through processes of political interaction. Traditional
planning theory requires systematic evaluation of alternatives
in order to make "optimal" choices.[28] Yet, in reality, the
choice of alternative means is dictated by the possibilities
evolving from political interaction rather than from
deliberative, a priori, design and analysis. Alternatives
are gradually invented out of compromises among participants
with different perceptions of the problem, interests, and
criteria.[29] Delineation and evaluation of alternatives is
complicated, moreover, by the fact that groups participating
in policy making rarely perceive their goals clearly or de-
fine their objectives explicitly. Goal formulation is often
situational, that is, dependent on expectations of what can
actually be achieved under given political conditions at a
particular point in time. As expectations change, goals are
altered. Ends become means: Attainment of one set of goals
may merely pave the way to pursue another set. Thus, the

number of possible permutations and combinations of feasible
or potentially feasible alternatives can be enormous. The
alternatives given priority depend in part on the actors
drawn into policy making conflicts and on the strength of
their influence.

Evaluation and choice are twice confounded by substantive
and political spillovers. Initial policy conflicts often
expand into intricate networks of secondary conflicts over
values ideology, and socioeconomic and political consequences.
Spillovers result from and are related to policy problems.
Participants in policy making often come into conflict over
questions that have little to do with the substantive con-
tent of the problem. They become enmeshed in arguments in-
volving personal political ambitions, personal and
organizational prestige, control over funds and other re-
sources, and ideological doctrine.[30]

8. Each actor involved in policy planning, formulation
and implementation has a limited evaluation capacity. When
the number of alternatives is large, the ability of any
participant in policy making to evaluate them comprehensively
is restricted. In reality, as Simon notes, decision making
often reduces to a choice between two alternatives: "doing
X" or "not doing X".[31] "Not doing X" may represent the
whole set of possible alternatives that decision makers lack
the resources, interest, information, or power to evaluate.
These courses of action may be considered vaguely in terms
of the opportunity costs of rejecting "doing X", or consid-
ered serially and incrementally only if alternative "doing X"
is rejected, or if it is accepted and later proves to be
ineffective.[32] But if "doing X" is considered satisfactory
to the participating interest groups, alternatives may never
be explicated.

9. Policies planning is done under conditions of un-
certainty, risk, incomplete information, and partial ignorance
of the situation in which problems evolve, the resources of

involved groups, and the effectiveness of proposed solutions.
Professional planners and public administrators have done
little better than legislators in comprehensive policy
analysis. Studies of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1962 —
a law requiring that Federally assisted highway projects be
the result of a "cooperative, comprehensive and continuing
planning process"—have indicated that the Federal Highway
Administration lacks the political power to impose compre-
hensive analysis requirements.[33] State, local and metro-
politan planning agencies lack the information, political
resources, and analytical ability to comply with the area-
wide planning provisions of later transportation programs
as well as other Federal programs.[34] Attempts to formulate
Model Cities guidelines to allow maximum freedom for
analysis and planning by localities failed miserably. As
one former Model Cities Administration deputy director so
aptly complained, "Most of the cities didn't understand the
process but were willing to play our silly little game for
money. What was meant as a challenge, a prod, was
interpreted as a regulation, a cage. Regulations you can
relate to; freedom is something else."[35]

Each of these nine characteristics of urban policy
making imparts an important implication as regards the
serious modification of the urban planning process. To en-
courage a redirection of the planning profession's energies
aimed more at the management of metropolitan growth, an
effective normative framework of skills and knowledge is
needed to allow for the interaction of planning and politics
on an areawide basis. Research, analytical techniques, and
skills required for prescriptive plan-making are not adequate
for policy planning. As policy analysts, planners must
develop and adopt a view of the planning process that is
substantially different from that of classical comprehensive
planning. While present planning processes focus heavily
on substantive urban problems, few, if any, recognize the

necessity for interfacing planning with the policy making
process. Yet, as has been adequately illustrated in this
research, planning issues in the metropolis generate con-
flict; their resolution and the proper management of social,
economic, and physical change are intrinsic to the concept
of policies planning.

Traditional Planning: An Overview

To a considerable extent, the traditional methods of
city planning have been carried over from the work done in
private corporations, architect's offices, and single-purpose
government agencies.[36] These methods were brought to the
profession by the architect, landscape architect, and civil
engineer—early dominant forces in the planning movement.[37]
These methods are well suited to a unitary setting, i.e.,
the single client with the single site, in which they were
refined, but they have not been as applicable to the complex
and ambivalent city. The classic practices were noted in
such factors as basic concensus regarding the goals of the
organization, ability to predict the future with considerable
precision, and centralized control over the resources
needed to achieve the goals. Such elements are certainly
more characteristic of private or voluntary organizations
than of democratic local governments.[38]

The essence of the traditional approach to planning
has been to view the city and suburbs as a large design
project. The community is thought to have a spatial,
plastic form that can be grasped and reduced to manipulation
and presentation by graphic means. Planning, according to
this view, is the process of forming a picture of a future
physical pattern and developing the necessary control
measures to move the community toward that pattern. The
objective is to mold the community in a manner consistent
with the map of the future, and the goals, sometimes stated

but often only implicit in the map, are convenience, order, efficiency, economy, and beauty.[39]

Typically, the urban planning effort begins with a perceived need to plan. This perception has as its basis the difference between the conditions of life currently held by the perceptor and those conditions defined as "better" based upon his set of values. In a broad sense, the exploration, definition and development of the various sets of values held by the public defines the public purpose. The public is made up of those people directly affected by the plan and is termed the client constituency of the planner so as not to limit the planning effort to the more restrictive sense of public; i.e., governmental planning. The effort then considers methods of identifying the goals and objectives of this constituency and attempts to measure their relative importance. These formulized and measured sets of values serve as the conceptual basis for specific planning endeavors.[40]

The planning process then runs sequentially through a series of steps or phases investigating, preparing, and evaluating proposals deemed desirable and feasible based upon the enunciated goals and objectives. These phases consist of plan organization, inventory, data analysis, forecasting, design and evaluation of alternatives, plan implementation and monitoring of the impact of the plan on segments of the area. In reality, the distinctions among these phases are both conceptual and operational, with due regard given to feedback and feedforward elements which are inherent with the administrative aspects of the process.

With the phase of plan organization begins the operational nature of planning activity. Together with the goals and objectives of the client constituency, plan organization consists of a series of four decisions utilized to delimit the planning study area and thus nest the substance of the plan into a hierarchy of planning

activities from the most general to the most specific. The
first is the decision to plan and this results in a formal
structuring of the decision makers (policy committee,
advisory committees, etc.) and the preparation of a study
prospectus. The second is the decision to design a study
and this results in resource allocations. The third
decision results in the preparation of procedural or
operational manuals as deemed necessary for the proper con-
duct of the study. The fourth decision examines the
feasibility of the study as a whole and results in a
decision on whether or not to proceed with the inventory
phase of planning. In practice, some of these decisions
will run together but they are always nonetheless implicitly
or explicitly made.[41]

The urban planning effort continues with an extensive
survey of existing conditions and predictions of the number
of people, cars, jobs, etc., that might be expected within
the time range of the final plan. Studies are made of the
existing land uses, the social and economic characteristics
of the population, the economy of the area, the housing
stock, the circulation system, and the area's utilities and
facilities. The studies are for the most part quantitative
descriptions and projections, but, to a lesser extent, they
deal with the qualitative features of the system.

Once the studies and forecasts are completed, the
future estimates of people, vehicles, households and employ-
ment are converted into the planner's primary common
denominator—acres of land needed to accommodate each use.
The conversion from people (or jobs or whatever) to land is
generally based upon existing areawide ratios and modified
by national averages and standards documented by specialists
in various fields.[42] The next task is to distribute these
future land requirements and establish alternative designs
that will accommodate the anticipated growth. The criteria
used to determine appropriate locations for each category

of use are based upon the existing pattern, intuition and the judgement of specialists.[43]

Upon completion of these various pictures of the future, each alternative is evaluated by the planners in accordance with sophisticated criteria that are deduced from prior statements of goals and objectives.[44] Their recommendations and proposals are then documented in the form of a "Comprehensive Plan" and presented for acceptance to the planning commission. Rarely will the commission reject their agency's proposals.[45] The commission then uses it to "advise" the policy makers—the chief executive, the legislative body, and department heads—as to the proper actions they should take. It is, of course, well known that those who are being advised do not always agree with the advice.[46]

It is easy to criticize the traditional planning approach, particularly in the highly abbreviated form presented here which serves to exaggerate the shortcomings. Nevertheless, this summary adequately points out many of a number of oversights and oversimplifications that have severly limited the usefulness of this approach as an adjunctive device with areawide decision making: It focuses on two-dimensional, physical plans; it is more concerned with quantitative problems than with policy formulation and analysis which are intrinsic factors impacting on the over-all performance of the system; and it produces a static end product without determining how the area gets from "here" to "there" or from "now" to "thence".

Comprehensive planning is prescriptive rather than interventional. The plan-making approach stresses objective, synoptic analysis, the search for endless numbers of alternatives and a combination of "best" choices as amplified by a published (not necessarily implemented) long-range master plan for growth. Administrative details of "routine" decisions were relegated to politicians and

bureaucrats. Unfortunately, long-range comprehensive plans
and systematic policy scenarios have largely been ignored
in a political system that renders rational, comprehensive
evaluations of urban policy highly improbable and synoptic
policy changes nearly impossible.[47]

It must be pointed out, however, that the traditional
approach has been, and with modifications, will continue to
be instrumental in improving the metropolitan environment.
The pace and scale of metropolitan development are such
that it becomes essential for someone to study the conse-
quences associated with fitting together the disparate
parts to form a functioning whole. Sooner or later someone
has to make a decision concerning the size of a park or the
location of a highway. Metropolitan areas are mappable,
and a picture of the future is, when correctly used, a
necessary and useful planning tool. The traditional methods
are particularly useful in planning for the isolated, small
and medium-sized urban areas, or the well-to-do suburb where
there is a steady growth rate, plenty of room for expansion,
adequate development resources, and widespread agreement
concerning goals. To reiterate, however, with the possible
exception of "New Towns", where land may be in single owner-
ship, resources are nearly unlimited, and the planner isn't
"bothered" with problems of existing development, no metro-
politan area in our nation exhibits these utopian
characteristics.[48]

It should also be pointed out that traditional planning
practices derive their heritage from, and were appropriate
to, a period of American history in which the profession of
planning was a reform movement. The prevailing situation
was one in which privately supported and design-oriented
planners, working in a concensus environment of respected
community leadership, could do little more than prepare a
plan and hope that their vision of the future would stir
others to take appropriate actions. These practices come

from a period in which it was thought that respected
members of the community could intelligently discuss a
problem and arrive at a "correct" and tenable solution, or
that planners could resolve value conflicts through
technically rational means. Further, many of the concepts
and approaches of comprehensive planning were derived from
a period in which the planners knew even less about the
functions of an urban area than they do today.[49]

Normative Metropolitan Planning

We are, obviously, planning today within an entirely
different context. Planners are involved and working in a
different political and social environment, facing new types
of problems, and acquiring greater knowledge of how the
metropolis functions. These changes demand new or revised
approaches and styles to the art of planning.

There are a few indications that planners are consid-
ering the development of new, or revised, strategies and
philosophies as regards the conceptual basis of urban
planning on a metropolitan scale.[50] The emphasis of these
efforts centers around defining and operationalizing the
"normative" elements of planning—those elements that de-
scribe the milieu of "where are we going" and "by what
means will we get there". The comprehensive plan has been,
for the planner, a technical exercise, like fitting the
pieces of a jigsaw puzzle together. For technical planning
to be effective, however, it is necessary that there be a
definite framework circumscribing the ends being pursued
and the policies by which they are to be achieved in addition
to a clear understanding of the implications that will
surely evolve from the enforcement of these policies. In
far too many instances, planning agencies have been pursuing
goals that have relevancy only within the planning pro-
fession, or they have had to assume community goals. The
planning staff has rarely had the guidance it needs to

effectively carry out its technical responsibilities.[51]

Normative metropolitan planning is the process of es-
tablishing rational or reasonable ends for a metropolis
given the disparate heritage of its environment.[52] It in-
volves determinations concerning the objectives which will
guide subsequent political actions. It involves making
decisions concerning the scope and content of political
action, decisions which must ultimately be based on an
established value system of the various interests making up
the area's fabric. Normative metropolitan planning develops
the broad, general basis for action, whereas technical
planning is concerned with specific, established purposes
and the procedures to be employed in achieving these
purposes.

Most normative planning in the metropolis is done by
the elected officials and their appointed administrators.
To date, the planning profession has tended to remain
either aloof from or selectively circuitous to involvement
in this vital process of goals formulation and policy
analysis as regards the pathing of alternative future courses
of action for the metropolis. This tendency explains, to a
considerable extent the continuing dilemma of frustrations
and failures encountered by metropolitan planning agencies
in attempting to implement plans conceived outside the
realm of the politically-charged arena of policy making.[53]
Further, it serves to point out why the planning process is
not effectively integrated with the political stages of
policy analysis and plan making. The reluctance of planners
to change their point of view regarding their involvement
with politics has resulted in disparities and tensions
between political actions, uninformed by areawide planning
considerations, and comprehensive plans, generally void of
a sufficient recognition for the various participants in
metropolitan development that will surely levy their re-
sources of influence and power against proposals deemed not

to be in their best interest. In short, the friction and
conflict that exists between areawide planning and urban
political systems might be relieved considerably if planners
and decision-makers would adopt a strategy, albeit a
process, of analyzing the implications of proposed policies
and their accompanying actions on the social, economic, and
physical development and redevelopment schemes deemed
necessary, by both parties, to assure the public of an
eventual betternment of their habitat as expressed through
statements of goals and objectives.

The question of central importance to this research
concerns the role of the metropolitan planning office. Is
it a department that is limited to technical planning, or
do   its functions extend to normative planning? On the
basis of the evidence and conclusions posited and analyzed
in the previous chapters of this research there is little
doubt that a metropolitan planning department has a unique
and dual role to play in the affairs of areawide government.
The metropolitan-based planner exists in a middle zone
lying somewhere between the politician (the normative
planner) and the bureaucrat (the technical planner). The
planner is a bureaucrat, in part, by virtue of his position
in government as an administrator of programs which have
been instituted by the politicians. Further, he has a
special competence and training which makes him invaluable
in matters concerning the responsibilities of the
politician—the formulation of areawide goals and objectives
and the analysis of proposed policy actions in response to
perceived needs of the public.

One of the key activities of a planning agency is its
participation in the process of goals and objectives
formulation. It has already been mentioned that the
politicians, in response to public pressures, are able to
establish adequate short-run goals. Strong arguments for
going beyond these minimal, short-range goals were cited.

In the first place, the public influence which helps shape goals is not evenly distributed. Certain groups will exercise greater influences on the mechanisms of the political system than will other groups. Further, when influence tends to be equally shared by competing interests, the outcome of the conflict is likely to be a weak compromise. Finally, political decisions concerning the public interest are made only when opportunities arise. There is generally no systematic or comprehensive evaluation of long-term goals.[54]

For these reasons, and others soon to be discussed, the metropolitan planning agency should participate in the normative element of planning. The development of general goals for the area should result from the interaction of three groups: (1) the public and its voluntary organizations; (2) government as expressed by the elected representatives and their appointive administrative officials; and (3) the professional and technical aids and consultants who staff urban planning offices.[55]

Goal formulation is, however, only one of several core activities which raise planning from the level of a technique to one that is concerned with both ends and means. Other activities include coordination, plan formulation, assistance to other interest groups and public agencies and policy analysis. Taken together, these activities and their components comprise a basic framework for the establishment of a responsive planning body within the structure of a metropolitan government that recognizes a political interaction view of policies planning.[56]

Historically, most of the normative work of planning agencies has been carried out under the label of "policies planning". While there is a range of opinion concerning the exact nature of policies planning, it essentially is the preparation of a set of general statements that define the direction and character of future development and set forth the actions necessary to attain the desired development. The

policies set the broad network for action and form the basis
upon which more detailed development decisions are made.

By way of comparison with the end-state plans described
above, the policy statements are relatively permanent. Where-
as the end-state plans set forth proposals and designate sites,
the policies would only set forth the concepts, principles
and precepts that would guide those who are responsible for
making proposals. For example, if a plan designates a par-
ticular area in the CBD for multifamily housing, once the
housing is built, or once it becomes obvious that the housing
can not be built (due to changing economic conditions or some
other unforeseen circumstance), then the plan becomes out-
dated and useless as a guide for community decision making.
On the other hand, a clearly stated policy, such as "make the
CBD a dominant feature of the metropolis by enhancing it as
the center for commercial, residential, and cultural activi-
ties", remains in effect regardless of what happens to the
housing and similar proposals.

Policy at this level is, quite properly, the concern of
the public and its elected representatives, although the
planning agency would interact in proposing, analyzing and
evaluating alternative sets of policies. To be effective, the
completed statements of policy should be officially adopted
by the legislative body of the metropolitan government. Al-
though there are strong arguments against the adoption of
plans, these arguments apply more to the traditional master
plan with its high degree of specificity.[57] Adoption of the
policies in the form of a "policies plan" does not commit the
metropolitan government to any particular recommendations, but
it does commit it to take actions, whatever they may be, that
are consistent with the policy guidelines.

Policies planning is a process of establishing ends and
determining the means by which ends can be achieved. In many
planning agencies, the ends are established without any con-
sideration for the guidelines necessary to achieve them. A

policies plan is a statement(s) of the general intentions of
the city and thus would serve as a guide for daily decision
making on the part of public officials, adminstrators, and
citizens. A policies plan would contain resonably detailed
guiding principles but not specific proposals. For example,
a policies plan may state the principle that "public housing
should be scattered throughout the city on sites that contain
no more than 100 units". The policies plan, however, would
not contain a map siting a half-dozen possible public housing
projects nor would it recommend that a 100-unit development
be constructed next year at the corner of Fourth and Oak.

Many of the kinds of policies that would be included
in a policies plan already exist in every community. But
they exist in various places and generally in different forms.
The policies exist as explicit statements in comprehensive
plans; they are implied in plan maps and in the various "plan-
ning standards", they exist as "rules of thumb" in government
agencies, and they are embodied in the guidelines that control
the decisions of various boards and commissions. Policies
planning seeks to bring these policies together, resolve con-
flicts between them, and add new policies where appropriate.
By consolidating these policies there is a greater assurance
that all the individuals and agencies who make decisions af-
fecting community development will be operating within the
same framework.

An integral part of policies planning is the analysis
of isolated components of metropolitan problems. Policy
planners must indicate how resources can be mobilized and
focused on remedial aspects of these problems in such a way
that urban areas can be moved gradually away from unsatisfac-
tory social and economic conditions. Policy planners must
delineate those alternatives upon which a variety of interests
can act jointly and seek ways of binding together some of the
disparate participants in policy making to promote mutual
cooperation along lines of specialization and common interest.

Therefore, a component of policies planning is the diligent
search for ways of reconciling differences among specialized
interests, where possible, and evaluating compromise positions,
bases for mutual exchange, incentives and instruments of
manipulation and persuasion.

A political interaction view of policies planning would
define one of the planner's roles to be that of identifying
factors central to the formulation of strategies for the
management of metropolitan change. Strategic factors are
those which, when controlled properly—in the right form and
at the right place and time—will aid in establishing a new
system or set of conditions that meets the purpose.[58]   Policies
planning must search out limiting factors that inhibit de-
sired social change and identify the types of complementary
factors needed to enact and implement appropriate programs or
controls. Given the complexity of the pluralistic political
system inherent with the metropolis, the policy planner must
focus on calculating the costs of pursuing alternative courses
of action or taking no deliberate action. By explicating the
losses that could be incurred by urban interests from the
lag time between socio-economic change and the public re-
sponse to that change, strong incentives might be provided for
the formation of effective coalitions to reduce their losses
from inaction, delayed action, or inappropriate action. In
a very real sense, policies planning would be an adjunctive
process of facilitating adjustment among competing interests
within a multinucleated governmental structure, to encourage
policy outputs of marginally better quality when measured
against the status quo.[59]

Contributions of a Normative Approach

Prior to describing the characteristics of normative
planning in greater detail, it will be useful to set forth
the benefits of policies planning and to summarize the
pressures and changes in the planning context that have

created the need for a mechanism of this kind. The
following paragraphs attempt to identify those benefits felt
to be associated with the proper adaption of urban planning
to a broader framework of normative planning.

Improved Citizen Participation. The essential and
definitive character of the policy statements facilitates
public understanding and public participation in the planning
program. In some ways it is misleading to suggest that
traditional planning practices have restricted the degree to
which citizens could participate in local planning programs.
While it's true that the transition from a goal to a precise
and detailed plan makes citizen involvement more difficult,
there is nothing between the general abstraction, which
everybody should agree with, and the finished product; i.e.,
there is a void in the area where citizen debate would be
most fruitful. The argument is, however, slightly misleading
since it has only been during the last few years that most
citizens cared enough about planning to become involved in
the debate over a planning issue. Planning was generally
regarded as an intellectual nicety, an abstraction that only
rarely touched the lives of most citizens. Therefore, it
wasn't important whether the planning approach was conducive
to public participation.[60]

This is, of course, changing as the public increases
its awareness and acceptance of the idea of planning. This
is not an insignificant trend, for planners have had a long
history of viewing the future as a luxury. They have been
called upon to tackle more and more public problems, and in
so doing they have affected the lives of more people. As
was pointed out in Chapter III, the large amounts of Federal
aid that are poured into urban areas have been a major factor
in changing planning from an academic exercise to something
that may directly affect the lives of metropolitan citizens.
As long as plans meant nothing, or as long as the time lag
between plans and projects was long, citizens had nothing to

lose by supporting the "idea" of planning. But as plans rapidly become projects, citizen interest and their ensuant involvement is no longer casual or academic.

The increased public involvement in planning issues has highlighted the existence of multiple urban life styles, with distinct goals that vary widely between different social and economic groups. Most metropolises are witnessing a substantial increase in the number and variety of voluntary organizations, all of which are demanding a voice in the affairs of government. Church congregations, slum residents, property owners associations, welfare recipients, civil rights groups, and others are all anxious to make their views known to city hall. In fact, direct involvement in the affairs of government by groups that have heretofore had no public voice is being institutionalized by such programs as the War on Poverty, where the poor are represented on advisory councils and where legal aid may be provided to help the poor in their struggle against, not only loan companies and landlords, but also against welfare departments and departments of urban renewal.[61]

Normative planning is a response to the public demand that they be allowed to participate in the planning process. The policies planning aspect of normative planning would enable the public to see the relationship between the general and the specific. It would encourage them to enter the process at a level between incomprehensible goals and detailed development plans. At this level it would be easier to discuss and evaluate development alternatives, and it would be easier for those groups opposed to the officially endorsed policies to present their own suggestions or alternatives. Normative planning provides no guarantee that the public will become involved, but in greatly encourages their involvement by shifting attention from design details and specific proposals to the more essential characteristics of the future community. Areawide

debate, for example, would be focused on the pros and cons
of alternative principles that could be used in locating
public housing units (concentrated in one area, dispersed,
large developments, or small isolated projects) rather than
on what "that" particular development is going to do to "my"
neighborhood. The latter debate will undoubtedly come later,
but it will be easier, perhaps, to handle if some guiding
policies have been publicly agreed on ahead of time.[62]

    Involving Public Officials. The lack of public interest
in planning has, quite logically, been paralleled by a
similar disinterest on the part of elected officials. Public
officials, aware of the interest of their constituents and
recognizing the potential impact of major development
decisions, can no longer "permit" planning to exist outside
their purview. Further, they, like their constituents,
find the traditional approach to planning unacceptable to
their normal conduct of decision making. They are charged
with the responsibility of making major decisions on the
basis of a recommendation premised on a plan which they had
little or nothing to do with and approved by a planning
commission whose ability to interpret the public interest
is at least open to question.[63] Despite the rhetoric of
planners, the futuristic and detailed land use plan is not
an adequate guide for decision makers. While it may guide
the deliberations of the planning commission it has been of
little use to city councils. The comprehensive plan is a
product of the traditional planning process and, quite
characteristically, all the decisions that comprise its make-
up are made by the planners. Public officials can either
make the decisions that the plan demands or they can ignore
them and be labeled an advocate of "non-planning." As was
previously discussed, planning is an "either-or" proposition
for the public official. Either they accept the advice or
they don't. As a result, policy makers are forced into
untenable positions where they must agree in principle with

the advice and then try to defend a justification for a contrary decision. What is needed, of course, is a system which guides the people who will be making future decisions instead of a system that controls all future decisions by prescribing in detail what the future should be.

The normative planning process would enable elected officials to specify, in principle, what they as representatives of the community want. A policies plan would serve as a directive to the areawide planning department, as well as to other agents concerned with the environment. Under an arrangement of this kind there is a greater likelihood that specific proposals will be politically realistic and thus may stand a better chance of fulfillment. A policies plan would also serve as a reference point for a legislative body. A city council could evaluate specific proposals in light of its previously adopted statement of policy. Further, the ease with which a policies plan and its contents could be reviewed by the public and its representatives facilitates and encourages participation. The brief and essential statements of policy can be reviewed without having to grope through the maps and proposed projects of a conventional plan.

Increased Coordination. In response to the many new and complex problems that are characteristic of metropolitan areas, local governments have been increasing the number and variety of their programs. As described in Chapter III, these programs are increasingly cutting across traditional departments lines as governments focus their attention on poverty, juvenile deliquency, employment and urban renewal. These programs require an interdisciplinary approach, and frequently planners find themselves on committees established for the purpose of solving tis or that problem. They work with professionals in other disciplines, which exposes them to new concepts and different perspectives and thus forces them to articulate what their role is in helping to solve

the problems being considered by a community in the metro-
polis.[64]

The interdisciplinary approach (sometimes referred to
as the systems approach) to metropolitan problem-solving is
one of the changes that has brought planners into closer
contact with social and economic issues. Regardless of the
outcome of the debate concerning the proper scope of
planning, it is clear that practicing planners must give
greater consideration to non-physical problems. As planners
became involved in the poverty program, urban renewal, and
the Model Cities program, they showed a greater appreciation
for the fact that a service or program may be far more
important than the building in which it is housed. This
experience has proven to be instrumental in coercing planners
to recognize that physical plans have relevance only to the
extent to which they encourage or restrict the attainment
of social and economic objectives. A recent and most
controversial example of this is the question of school
location. In light of the larger social issues that have
been raised, the traditional standard of a quarter-mile
service radius is being reevaluated.[65]

Coordination has always been one of the functions of a
metropolitan planning agency, and the policies plan would
serve as a useful device for achieving increased levels of
coordinated action. Again, the essential character of the
policy statements constitutes the major advantage of the
policies plan. Coordination is not a matter of solving
jurisdictional disputes between differing parties or forcing
action toward a mutually agreed upon end. The policies
plan is the statement of the desired end, and the desired
coordination will be achieved if all agencies concerned
with development will act in accordance with the principles
set forth in a policies plan.

Conventionally, the planner's role of coordination was assumed to extend only to those agencies and organizations directly involved with the physical urban area. However, as indicated above, the growing importance of non-physical and program planning adds a new dimension to the problems of coordination. Urban analysts who consider the conventional separation of the metropolis into social, economic, and physical packages an intellectual handicap that has hampered the progress of local governments argue that the policies plan would be an ideal integrative tool. The majority of all planning agencies do have a rather limited area of concern, but there are indications that this area is being expanded. As it does expand, effective coordination will, of necessity, begin at the policy level and not at the level of specific plans and programs.

Normative planning can also be used as a coordinative tool in another context—it can be used to coordinate the activities of individual local governments in multi-jurisdictional metropolitan areas. As previously argued in Chapters II and III, metropolitan planning agencies are rarely backed with the proper authority needed for carrying out their proposed projects. They cannot dictate to the governmental units that make up the area, but they can try to get each unit to agree "in principle" to the desired character of the area. Each unit knows what the others are attempting to achieve. Naturally there would be no guarantee that any given unit will abide by the agreed upon normative framework. This can only be assured through an areawide government charged with the proper authority and power for ameliorating conflicting local desires. But this normative approach would undoubtedly be more realistic than the "grand scheme" concept which presents a threat to local autonomy.

Achieving Consistency. A great deal of prior planning efforts were spent trying to estimate and forecast variables used in preparing futuristic plans to the last decimal point. Yet even a terse comparison of actual urban development to the plans or predictions of 20 or even ten years ago, demonstrates that many of these efforts to anticipate the future have been wasted time. Metropolitan areas change often and in unpredictable ways. Large shifts in population, changes in the economy, and technological advances all combine to make the future highly enigmatic. The fact that change is a feature of our society does not rule out the possibility of planning. In fact, it makes planning all the more necessary. It does, however, rule out the feasibility of adhering to detailed and rigid plans.

Part of the planner's respect for the future comes from changing perceptions of the metropolis. The development of new techniques of analysis and the use of computers to handle vast amounts of data have shifted attention away from "supplies" of people, goods, buildings, and wealth to the "flows" of information, money, goods, and services. The interest is in how the urban system works rather than in what it is. One of the most difficult problems in the next few years will be to reconcile the theories of interaction with the comprehensive plan. Reconciliation must come, for it is impossible to think of the metropolis in dynamic terms and plan for it with a static document.[66]

The policies plan in the normative approach would be expected to cover a great range of future and unforeseen questions. The policies plan would not be made obsolete by an error in a population projection, since it sets forth principles and relationships to apply when new growth occurs or to the process of redevelopment. The policies plan is a frame of reference that lends consistency to development decisions. Since the emphasis is on relationships or inter-action, the policies plan has the potential for making planning more action-oriented.[67]

Relating Plans to Land Management. Concern for the
relationship between plans and land management has served to
highlight the inadequacies of the traditional, unitary
approach to planning. It has long been a major doctrine of
planning that land use controls—one aspect of an overall
land management program—should be in accordance with a
comprehensive plan. This was not a difficult charge to
fulfill when the controls were as precise and rigid as the
plans. In the case of zoning, for example, the plan was in
fact little more than a preliminary zoning map. However,
with the introduction of devices designed to make zoning
more flexible—performance standards, floating zones,
planned unit development, density zoning, transfers of
development rights, and others—the static land use plan
becomes irrelevant. The controls have responded to the
need for flexibility far more quickly than have the plans.[68]

Largely because land use controls are more flexible
there exists an even greater need for an outside reference
point. The city councils that must enact the legislation,
the individuals and boards that must administer it, and the
courts who are asked to judge the legislation and its
administration need some point of reference to see if the
results of their actions are in keeping with the desires of
the community. The possiblity of arbitrary or uninformed
action on the part of any or all of these groups is
diminished if there is a clear statement of policy that out-
lines community objectives and identifies the means by which
these objectives might or should be achieved.

In summary, the changing character of the metropolitan
planning context has reinforced the need for a normative
approach to policy analysis and policies planning coupled
with the technical rigors of the conventional comprehensive
planning ideology. Increasingly, metropolitan planning
agencies will find that they cannot function in this
broader context without some method for combining policies

planning into their technical programs that attempt to manage urban change.

Elements of a Normative Framework

Normative metropolitan planning is being advanced herein as a broad instrument of metropolitan reform involving two related aspects of change: (1) the integration of policies planning with technical planning to be administered by a Metropolitan Planning and Development Authority (MPDA); and (2) the reform of America's local governmental system into a more responsive and accountable areawide general purpose government of which the MPDA would be a vital part. This section of the research will describe a normative framework to accomplish changes in the theory and practice of metropolitan planning. The latter change, dealing with suggested forms of metropolitan government, will be the subject of the next section. It has been substantiated elsewhere in this report that both of these changes are necessary first steps in correcting for the chronic social, economic and physical inequities plaguing our nation's metropolises.

The elements of a normative planning approach can best be described by interpreting them through the more familiar components of a traditional planning program within the various stages of the comprehensive planning process.

First, there is the research and policy analysis element. This step acknowledges the need for an understanding of the characteristics of public policy making. Although the subject has been explored considerably by the social sciences, little thought has been given to manipulating processes of political interaction so as to plan urban policy more effectively. Research is scarce on the relationships among the policy making structures, the characteristics of the policy making process, and the techniques of interaction and knowledge needed by policy planners to manage urban change and to design strategies of intervention. The attempt in

this stage of the normative framework is to ascertain the categories of skills, knowledge and processes needed by policy planners to intervene effectively in urban policy making. A conceptualizaion of this element is presented in Figure V-1.

Adaptive adjustments among groups seeking to influence policy through tacit interaction strongly characterized the evolution of urban development legislation during the 1960s.[69] Indirect adjustments often take place without direct communication among policy making participants, either because they cannot or do not want to communicate with each other. Instead, each actor takes an action that he believes will avoid or resolve conflict on the basis of what other actors might do or what they have done in the past. In some cases, this action is based on intuition, rapport, "second guessing", or mutual recognition of a desirable goal. In others, it occurs from uncoordinated reactions to the same conditions of a problem or identical perceptions of the same problem.

A planner attempting to use intervention techniques to guide urban policies through analysis, formulation, and implementation must understand processes of small group decision making, organizational behavior, intragroup dynamics, and interorganizational interaction. Central to such an understanding would be the determination of answers and relationships for the following typical questions: Are adaptive, noncentrally coordinated processes of interaction more successful in implementing policy proposals than techniuqes of direct coordination? In what types of planning issues are they least effective? Can groups be induced to mutual agreement by third parties? How do these techniuqes influence the content of policy proposals? Would they affect the structure and dynamics of conflict resolution? If so, how severe would the effect be on preventing policy proposals from being implemented?
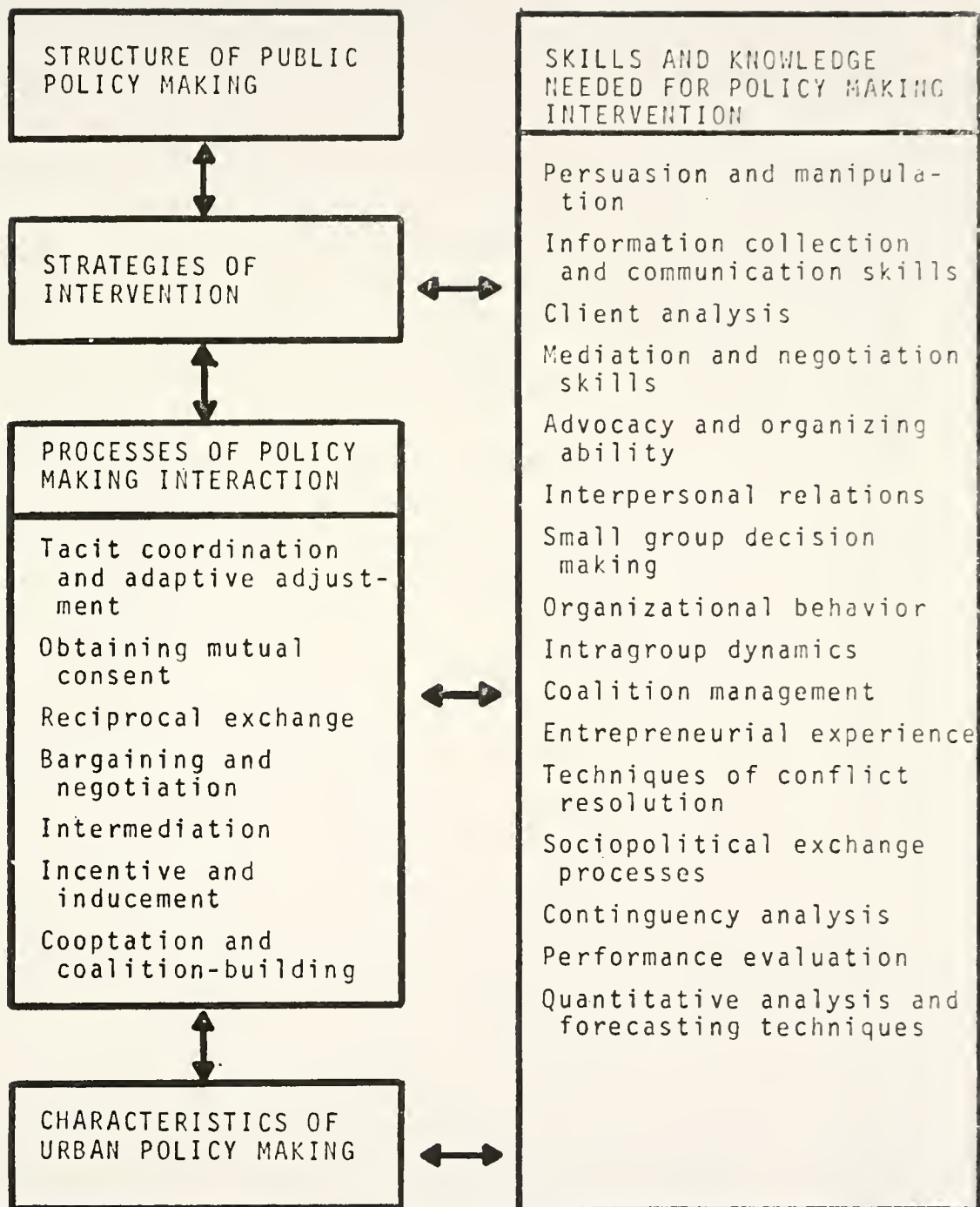
Figure V-1. Skills and Knowledge Needed in Urban Policy Making

The structure of policy making involves hierarchies and networks of specialized groups linked together in inter-twining decision chains.[70] Nested throughout these decision chains are coalitions which create and take part in areas of influence over specific types of issues and programs. Enacting a policy often requires that mutual consent be obtained from the sphere of interests composing an organized area of influence. Indeed, failure to seek approval from the clientele of an established program may activate a coalition of opposition to plans calling for policy changes.[71] To deal effectively with these decision chains in urban policy making, planners must possess skills of persuasion and manipulation in addition to capabilities for designing tactics of influence peddling and client analysis.

Policy conflicts are settled through processes of reciprocal exchange, negotiation, intermediation, and bargaining. The complex agency arrangements characterizing urban policy implementation force the use of exchange-bargaining techniques between proponents and opponents of urban assistance policies. Past failures to negotiate settlements among disparate groups—Federal departments, State and local agencies, clientele, target groups, and political factions—has led to serious complications in implementing planning programs. Thus, mediation and negotiation skills become important for planners involved in compromising relationships in urban policy making. Knowledge of organizational behavior, processes of conflict resolution, socio-political exchange tactics, and the planning and design of strategies are tools needed for providing a means of assisting political and administrative decision makers in testing alternative policy proposals and political tactics.

Building coalitions is essential to the management of conflict. Ultimately, urban policies evolve from compromises among groups possessing sufficient power and resources to persuade other actors of the necessity for a particular course of action. Incentives and inducements change both the

parameters of decision making and the consequences of policy alternatives to interested groups. However, the use of incentives requires entrepreneurial experience. Skills in organizaional leadership, advocacy planning, resource mobilization and coalition management are essential to this element of policies planning in a normative framework.

The second element of normative metropolitan planning is the policies plan—that element which defines the basic policies to be used in guiding subsequent planning efforts. The plan would contain a range of policies and would be used in the preparation of a comprehensive plan as well as for preparing and administering shorter range programs, plans, and ordinances. This policy range can conveniently be compared to the distinctive elements of a trip in the metropolis—defining the destination, selecting the route, and choosing the mode of transport.

The first and most general level of policy is defining the "destination" or objectives. At this level the policies would deal with questions concerning alternative forms of development, rates of growth, character of the economy, desired levels of public services, and intensity of development. The objectives at this level are found in one form or another in most plans. They are really statements that say "we would like to . . ." or "wouldn't it be nice if . . . ." However, standing alone they are of relatively little use in guiding action by the community.

The next level of policy is the "route" which specifies in general terms the way by which the destination can be reached. Specifically indicated would be the kinds of actions that could be used to achieve the objectives. In any metropolitan area, there would be a variety of ways available to achieve desired outcomes. These can be determined by citizens committees, metropolitan councils, or regional planning commissions. The planning professionals would assist in pointing out all the alternatives feasible to the area.

It would be reasonable to expect that the area and its
components would pursue all of these directions, but
differentiate as to the emphasis placed on each of these
alternatives.

The third level is the choice of "transport mode".
Policies at this level would be still more detailed and could
be readily translated into specific design proposals or
action recommendations. They are, in essence, implementing
policies. Because of the detail contained in these policies,
the technical judgements of professional planners become
more important.[72]

Examples of third level policy, such as those depicted
in Table V-1, cover a range of specificity. Some are in the
form of standards, others can be translated into standards,
and others are simply an indication of support for a
particular idea or principle. Some can be acted upon
immediately and others require further study to see if the
ideas presented are feasible. Potential areas of conflict
that were not apparent at the first and second policy levels
become apparent here. For instance, the policy with respect
to parking areas may be in conflict with the policy of
increasing the development density. The parking policy may
have to be modified so as to permit or encourage all parking
to be in garage structures. Also, while not indicated here,
this level would include policies relating to assessments
and taxes, levels of community services, and other items of
public concern that would conceivably affect development.

An array of policies, such as that shown in Table V-1,
illustrates what it is the area wants and how they intend to
go about achieving it. It begins to reveal the "price" that
must be paid for achieving the end. Initiation of a
Federally supported urban renewal project may be too high a
"price" (not necessarily in dollar terms) to pay in order to
clear the deteriorating sections of the area. In that case,
the community may decide to drop one of the possible policies.

Table V-1.   A Hypothetical Example of One Aspect of a Metro-
             politan Policy for a Particular Area of Concern [73]

I.   First Policy Level: The area decides to make the central
       business district (CBD) a dominant feature of the region.

II.   Second Policy Level:
       A. Make the CBD more accessible.
       B. Make the CBD the center for a variety of activities.
       C. Improve the physical appearance of the area.
       D. Make the CBD more competitive relative to other
          retail centers.
       E. Increase the intensity of the land uses in the area.

III.   Third Policy Level:
       A. Make the CBD more accessible.
          1. Support regional highway projects that will bring
             traffic to the CBD, and at the same time, provide
             a by-pass route for through traffic.
          2. Provide enough parking in the area so that no
             major institution or enterprise will be more than
             ten minutes walking time from a parking area.
          3. Actively support a regional organization that is
             now considering the feasibility of developing an
             areawide mass transit system.
       B. Make the CBD a center for a variety of activities.
          1. Give top priority to the central area when
             selecting sites for public office buildings.
          2. Provide support for the development of high-
             rise luxury housing in the central area.
          3. Encourage the development of a cultural center
             in the central area.
       C. Improve the appearance of the area.
          1. The city should work with downtown merchants in
             preparing a sign ordinance.
          2. Eliminate the deteriorating sections of the area
             through urban renewal.
          3. Encourage developers to provide plazas or other
             forms of open space by granting them density
             bonuses.
       D. Make the CBD more competitive.
          1. The regional council supports the idea of a
             hierarchy of commercial centers and will dis-
             courage the development of a shopping center
             large enough to be competitive with the CBD.
          2. Feasibility studies will be required for all
             shopping center requests.
       E. Increase the intensity of use in the area.
          1. The zoning ordinance should be revised to permit
             higher densities in the area.
          2. Every effort should be made to consider the
             feasibility of transferrable development rights
             as an incentive for creating a proper intensity
             and use mix.

If this hierarchy of policies was compared with a set based on the idea of minimizing the importance of the central area or of devoting the central area exclusively to commercial uses there would be a greater opportunity to compare possible outcomes. Further, if these policies were officially approved by a governing body they would serve as a guide for preparing a central area plan, and they would be used in guiding the daily decisions that boards, departments, administrators, and private citizens make that have an impact on areawide development.

The example in Table V-1 relates to only one small component of the metropolis. Additional sets of policies should be adopted for all the other types of development issues that a metropolitan area might face. As discussed in a previous chapter, regional planning agencies have used this procedure for illustrating various forms of regional growth--satellite cities, dispersed development, concentrated development, and star-shaped growth. These plans are useful as informational and educational devices, and the better ones may serve to unify governments and individuals and encourage them to take action consistent with the plans broad outline. Often, however, several of the alternatives merely serve as "straw men" and an intelligent public is forced into selecting the one that the planners recommend. Furthermore, many of these regional schemes do not carry the policy questions down to the level that is meaningful to most citizens. There is no indication of the second and third levels of policy that are to be employed. However, the idea of presenting regional patterns of development in terms of policies with accompanying illustrative maps is sound even if the execution of the idea falls short of ideal.

In developed regions there is little opportunity to experiment with regional forms. Policies for these areas would have to be limited to more conventional types of concern such as: density of development, distribution of commercial and

employment centers, the appropriate mix of transportation, the range of housing choice, and the character of the economy. These major issues would be translated into the more detailed policies. As regards the contents of the plan, it should contain enough policies to cover every typical or imaginable problem that occurs in metropolitan development. This means policies concerning the location of all types of uses, the relationships between uses, the nature of the communications sytem, and the character and density of development.

The first requirement, therefore, is that a policies plan contain a full range of policies. The second requirement is that these policies be general rather than specific. This is perhaps the most difficult aspect of developing a plan. As has been indicated, the policies can range widely in degree of abstraction and detail. If the plan contains only the most general policies, then it is useless as a guide to decision making; and if it contains policies that are too specific, then the guiding value of the policy statement is lost. Thus, there is a delicately balanced mid-level policy that is essential for the plan to be effective.

This mid-level, unfortunately, creates another problem—that of conflict between policies. Usually there is little conflict between policies at the most general level. Similarly, little conflict exists among specific policies in, say, a detailed development plan. The plan may, of course, generate controversy, and development may not occur in the manner envisioned by the plan, but the plan itself is internally consistent. At the middle levels, conflict between policies is, practically speaking, inevitable. To argue that there should be a policy to cover all situations and that all policies should be mutually exclusive so that no overlap or conflict exists between them, is to underestimate the complexity of the development process. Some conflicts can

be eliminated simply by removing one or two policies that
are contradictory. Indeed, that would be one of the main
purposes of defining the mid-level policies—to identify the
conflicts. However, in many instances, overlaps will occur
that cannot be resolved. Individuals make personal
decisions on the basis of a number of guiding principles
(policies) and when the principles are in conflict they make
judgements as to which one will apply. Public, like personal,
decisions are not made on the basis of strict deductive
reasoning. The democratic system is set up in order to make
equitable judgements in resolving conflicts among guiding
principles. The fact that conflict exists is not an
argument against adopting policy statements. The policies
help to clarify the nature of the conflict and to place it
into a perspective that simplifies the problem of resolution.
To be effective then, the policies must be aimed at the mid-
level, between platitudes and specific plans and recommenda-
tions.

The third element in the normative metropolitan planning
framework is the general plan. This is the element which is
derived from the policies plan and which consists of specific
long-range recommendations. It specifies general locations
and suggests needed projects. It should be stressed at
this point that many general plans, particularly the ones
prepared during the last ten or so years, contain the
policies that would be a part of a policies plan. They are
separated here only to stress the importance of the policies
step in the planning program.

As the literature contains many excellent discussions
pertaining to the development of the general plan concept,
the functions of the plan, procedures for preparing and
using the plan, the requirments as regards plan subject
matter and form, and the setting for the adoption and
implementation of the plan, it is not deemed necessary to
the purpose of this research to capsulize and consequently

distort over fifty years of work by the profession.[74] Table
V-2 adequately depicts the nature of the general plan and
shows the heavy dependence of the plan on the outputs of
the policies planning phase in the normative framework.[75]

The fourth element of normative planning on a metro-
politan scale would be the preparation of a detailed area-
wide development plan. The purpose of such an instrument
would be to translate the general plan into middle-range
programs and plans that could be used by decision makers in
preparing a metropolitan capital improvements program for a
period of from five to 10 years. In essence, this element
is an adjunctive part of the comprehensive plan in that it
should spell out financially just how the general plan
recommendations are to be realized in terms of a "capital
needs list."[76] The priorities for scheduling capital improve-
ments in accordance with the areawide development plan
would, of course, come from the policies plan. Thus, the
development plan element of normative planning would, on a
metropolitan scale, attempt to bridge the chasm that exists
between disparate developmental policies at the local level
which are stop-gap in nature and the long-range compre-
hensive plan for the future as envisioned by the planners.
The development plan would link, in a middle-range manner,
measures needed to deal with current problems with long-
range proposals in support of the policies plan.

The capital needs list should consist of two major
parts. The first would be a capital improvements schedule
listing all improvements to be undertaken within the planning
period of 20 years or more. Drawn from this schedule would
be the customary five to 10 year capital improvements program
of which the first year would be the capital improvements
budget. The second major element in the capital needs list
would be the "planned projects reserve." This would include
those improvements which suggest themselves in the plan as
being desirable but unlikely to be undertaken because of

Table V-2.   The Urban General Plan

The Uses of the Plan

POLICY DETERMINATION: Enables the council to consider and agree (a) upon a definite set of policies that will be used to govern the future physical development of the area, and (b) upon a general physical design for the area showing how the policies are to be carried out.

POLICY EFFECTUATION: Enables the council to view every specific project upon which it must act against a definite framework of desirable long-range development for the entire area.

COMMUNICATION: Enables the council to convey its long-range physical development policy to the citizens and to leaders and executives of government, civic, and business organizations; enables constructive debate and stimulates political action.

CONVEYANCE OF ADVICE: Enables the council to receive recommendations concerning physical-development matters from the planning commission and other advisors in a coherent, unified form.

EDUCATION: Enables the representatives of the council to educate themselves and others concerning the physical-development problems and opportunities of the area and the relationship of these problems and opportunities to the social and economic issues involved.

Characteristics of the Plan

If the General Plan is to serve the five uses defined above, it should have the following ten characteristics:

SUBJECT-MATTER CHARACTERISTICS
1.   G.P. should focus on physical development.
2.   G.P. should be long-range.
3.   G.P. should be comprehensive.
4.   G.P. should be general, and should remain general.
5.   G.P. should clearly relate the major physical-design proposals to the basic policies of the Plan.
CHARACTERISTICS RELATING TO GOVERNMENTAL PROCEDURES
6.   G.P. should be in a form suitable for public debate.
7.   G.P. should be identified as the council's plan.
8.   G.P. should be available and understandable to the public.
9.   G.P. should be designed to capitalize on its educational potential.
10.   G.P. should be amendable.

Table V-2.   Continued

THE URBAN GENERAL PLAN

INTRODUCTION: Reasons for G.P.; roles of council, CPC, citizens; historical background and context of G.P.

SUMMARY OF G.P.: Unified statement including (a) basic policies, (b) major proposals, and (c) one schematic drawing of the physical design.

BASIC POLICIES

1. CONTEXT OF THE G.P.:
   Historical background; geographical and physical factors; social and economic factors; major issues, problems, and opportunities. } facts trends assumptions forecasts

2. SOCIAL OBJECTIVES AND URBAN PHYSICAL-STRUCTURE CONCEPTS: Value judgments concerning social objectives; professional judgments concerning major physical-structure concepts adopted as basis for G.P.

3. BASIC POLICIES OF THE G.P.: Discussion of the basic policies that the general physical design is intended to implement.

GENERAL PHYSICAL DESIGN
Description of plan proposals in relation to large-scale G.P. drawing and areawide drawings of:

1. Working-and-living-areas section.
2. Community-facilities section.
3. Civic-design section.
4. Circulation section.
5. Utilities section.

} These drawings must remain general. They are needed because single G.P. drawing is too complex to enable each element to be clearly seen.

(Plus regional, functional, and district drawings that are needed to explain G.P.)

This diagram also suggests the contents of the official G.P. and publication as a single document.

Continuing Studies Based on G.P. that Suggest G.P. Improvements and Formal Amendments

Studies of basic policies and of all social and economic factors that control policies, objectives, assumptions, principles, and standards.

Up-to-Date Record of Suggested Revisions of Major Development Policies.

Detailed Development Studies

Individual-District Development Studies for Working and Living Areas

General Physical Design

C.B.D.	Res. Dist.
Indust. Dist.	Res. Dist.
Etc.	Etc.

Areawide Studies of Individual Functional Elements

General Physical Design

Living and Working	Transit
Civic Design	Traffic Ways
Separate Com Facilities	Railroads
Separate Utilities	Etc.

Combined areawide Studies of 5 Sections of General Physical Design

Combined Studies on One Drawing

Up-to-Date Record of Suggested Revisions of General Physical Design

present financial, legal, or other obstacles. These improvements would be catalogued as part of a planned projects reserve for completion beyond the time limit set by the comprehensive plan or earlier if new resources become available. New sources of revenue, private bequests, State and Federal grant programs and changes in legislation could activate such improvements and advance them to the capital improvements schedule, the capital improvements program and ultimately to the capital budget.

This is an appropriate technique for insuring that all comprehensive plan proposals are presented in documents which will fit them into the capital improvements programming process. Whether they are kept in a category labeled "planned projects reserve" or maintained in the listing of deferred projects is immaterial. It is important, however, that they be carried along and considered annually as part of the capital improvements review by the metropolitan government.

For many politicians and businessmen the comprehensive plan is too remote to seem real. For planners, on the other hand, ameliorative measures, which attack symptoms rather than basic problems, are too piecemeal and too hastily considered to seem worthwhile. The concept of a middle-range areawide development plan is a compromise measure that would relate immediate problems to future expectations thus permitting coherent policy effectuation. This type of plan preparation would require detailed, timed and controlled programming of governmental policies for private as well as for public actions. Detailed cost estimates of priviate as well as public development, and specific administrative and legal measures to carry out the programs would have to be worked out.

Long-range comprehensive plans commonly reveal a desired state of affairs. They rarely specify the necessary courses of action needed to achieve that desired end state. Because

of their long-range nature they cannot do so. The areawide
development plan, in contrast, would indicate the specific
changes in land use programmed for each year, the rate of
new growth, the public facilities to be built, the structures
to be removed, the private investment required, the extent
and sources of public funds to be raised, the tax and other
local incentives to encourage private behavior requisite to
the plan. The development plan should be acted upon each
year and made an official act for the subsequent year,
similar to the procedures currently used to place the capital
improvements budget into law. Revised yearly it would become
the central guide to a land use control system, to public
budgeting, and to appropriate private actions to achieve
directed community improvement.

The final element in the framework of a normative
metropolitan planning process is the action element. This is
the stage in the process where funds are allocated,
ordinances enforced, and programs implemented. To orchestrate
all of the activities described previously in the normative
framework requires a program of strategies that goes further
than the simple concept of policy implementation. Such a
program must, of necessity, be broad and have as its primary
directive the objective of implementing planning and policies,
not just plans. Planning policy implementation is a far
more subtle and difficult process than plan implementation;
it is concerned with the exercise of influence and power, and
it aims at guiding the development of the metropolitan area
in accordance with the substantive policies derived and
adopted in the policies planning stage.

A second criteria for such a program is that it cannot
be separated from either plans or policies making. Friedmann
has stated that "the idea that planning and implementation
are two distinct separable activities dies hard."[77] The
implementation methods that are available to the metropolitan
planning agency will inevitably shape, through feedback, the

kinds of planning and policies programs they will construct.
Taking Friedmann's advice seriously would require metro-
politan planning agencies to move simultaneously on both the
planning and implementation components of their programs.
To exaggerate the point, the agencies would have to work
backwards on occasion; i.e., they would have to determine
the implementation methods available to them and then
formulate their planning programs accordingly. This more
balanced approach is likely to be more effective than pre-
paring plans that depend on nonexistent implementation
powers.

Because the planning agency should be systematic and
comprehensive in thinking about its implementation activities,
it should group and classify implementation methods into
different types of strategies. What is meant by the use of
the term strategy is essentially the concept defined by
Bolan, and forwarded by So:[78]

> Strategy is viewed here as a related group of
> methods (at times they can be tactics, tools,
> or techniques) used by the planner in
> attempting to persuade government officials
> and others that governmental policies and
> plans ought to be influenced by the information,
> criteria, and values which he (the planner)
> is specifically able to bring to bear in
> carrying out the same objective.

The advantages of this type of approach are that: (1) there
is more emphasis on the goal of the strategy; (2) it can be
seen that the same method may contribute to more than one
objective; (3) there is a greater likelihood that gaps in
strategies can be identified and corrected; and, (4) there
is greater attention given to the relative strengths and
weaknesses of the various strategies.

In preparing an implementation program, it is conceivable
that the planners would make use of many different strategies.
In general, however, these strategies would be of two types:
persuasive and mandatory. Persuasive strategies can be

placed in a broad framework of seven categories: "the classic method;" gaining and strengthening allies; systematically collecting, analyzing, and disseminating information; cooperating with different types of governments and agencies, especially regionwide planning and development agencies who make crucial decisions in shaping the region; improving the opportunities for coordination as regards intergovernmental relations; concentrating on ad hoc problem solving; and indoctrinating and educating public officials and the public on the "worth" of metropolitan planning as a desirable activity for solving problems on a cooperative basis. The literature is replete with descriptions of the salient characteristics of each of these persuasive strategies and, therefore, those efforts will not be duplicated here.[79] It is important to point out, however, that these strategies should be used in combinations rather than singly. Typically, these strategies are not mutually exclusive; to pursue the advantages of one strategy (or two) over the advantages to be gained by using most or all of them on a selective basis, would result in accruing no advantages at all.

Perhaps the outstanding feature of all these implementation actions is that they are based upon persuasion. As such they depend very strongly upon the personality of the planner and his acumen as a salesman. The fact that such serious substantive planning issues as those previously described may well hinge upon the personal abilities of the participants rather than on the issues themselves is a bit paradoxical. Such, however, is the nature of the political system.

Implementation powers beyond persuasion are of three kinds: Mandatory referral, institutional change, and development power. Each of these powers are generally derived from state enabling statutes and thus afford an agency with legal powers which enable it to require that others adhere to

its policies and plans. To date, however, these compulsory powers have been granted to only a few metropolitan planning agencies.[80] Perhaps this trend will change in the future, but regardless of what happens, each of these powers is deemed important to the makeup of an implementation program.

Mandatory referral is a statutory provision granted to a metropolitan planning agency for the purpose of requiring that any plan or change of plan must be referred to the regional agency for its consideration and recommendations. It is important to note that only the referral is mandatory; it is usually not mandatory to follow the agency's advice. The best example of this device is A-95 review which was previously discussed in Chapter III. Additionally, the States of Maryland, Connecticut, New York, FLorida, and Minnesota either preceded the Federal government in conferring mandatory referral powers or have followed closely in their footsteps.[81] Of these States, Minnesota is perhaps the leader in terms of the number of powers which they have vested with the Metropolitan Council of the Twin Cities Area.[82]

The Council, in addition to its Federal metropolitan review powers, may review certain land acquisition grants, plans of independent agencies, plans of municipalities, and interstate highway system disputes. While in some cases the Council's comments are advisory only, on Federally funded projects it has the power to actually approve or disapprove if the proposal is for an open space land acquisition program funded under the U.S. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, HUD, or the Minnesota Department of Conservation. Special district agencies must also refer their plans to the Council. These special districts include those controlling sanitary facilities, airports, mosquito control, transit, county park reserves, hospital districts, a library district, a conservation district, a soil conservation district, and watershed districts. The Council not only has the power to review plans but it can also order certain types of agency plans to be suspended.

The Council further has the power to review the plans of
municipalities, including major amendments to existing plans.
These plans must have a "substantial effect on metropolitan
development" and, it is important to note, include major
industrial and commercial centers as well as public
facilities plans. The Council can also comment on disagree-
ments between the state highway department and local
municipalities on plans for interstate freeways. The state
highway commissioner may refer the dispute to the Council,
and its opinions are advisory only.

In addition to its referral powers, the Council may in-
tervene on behalf of the metropolitan area in annexation
and incorporation proceedings conducted before the Minnesota
Municipal Commission. Also the Council may bring measures
to the legislature concerning tax equalization, pollution
abatement, local services consolidation, and land acquisition.
Further, the Council is moving toward development power.

The Minnesota State legislature gave the Metropolitan
Council significantly greater powers during the 1969 session
that are clearly more far-reaching than the powers of any
other metropolitan planning agency in the nation.[83] First,
the Council obtained power to be more directly involved, and
at an earlier period, in development controls within three
miles of the new regional airport. The Council can adopt
criteria and guidelines for land use and development within
this area and local governments must adopt controls within
the guidelines. Second, and of even greater significance,
the Council can now appoint the members of two seven-member
boards which would build, acquire, and operate a metropolitan
sewer system and open space recreational system. Each board
would carry out the policies and plans prepared by the
Council. In effect, the Metropolitan Council is directly
and powerfully involved in shaping metropolitan growth and
development through a subsidiary agency.

While efforts to change the basic governmental framework for planning and development decision making may in a sense be an institutional change strategy, this type of effort is so important and, as previously discussed, so fundamental that it deserves separate discussion. By institutional change is meant changes in the legal powers, methods of governance, ways in which functions are integrated, and organizational structures created which go considerably beyond having the metropolitan planning agency merely be a quasi-governmental advisory board. The next section addresses needed changes within the context of a normative framework and posits recommendations to support the changes.

The Metropolitan Planning and Development Authority

Central to the development of an areawide implementation program is the need for institutional change stimulated by the new flow of Federal funds into metropolitan areas. The most immediate and most fundamental contribution the Federal government can make toward the solution of metropolitan problems is to stimulate the creation of representative and politically responsible policy making bodies in the metropolitan areas, genuinely capable of making decisions on controversial issues and to stimulate these authorities, once created, to move toward their own state legislatures.

This effort to "mate" a Metropolitan Planning and Development Authority (MPDA) with a state legislature is so necessary to an effective attack on metropolitan problems that it is worth underscoring, from the beginning, the ways in which the concept departs from the predominant assumptions about metropolitan problems, and their solution:

1. "Planning" is only part of the problem. While there are no shortages of plans in urban areas, there is, however, an insufficient amount of ability to come to formal, binding, and satisfactory agreement on complex and

controversial public policy issues. An ability, in other
words, to make decisions and, concomitantly, a need for a
governmental structure at the areawide level competent to
carry out those decisions.

2. Federal funding, by itself, is not a solution.
Areawide authorities, capable of making controversial decisions
are essential to using available Federal dollars well. In
addition, the metropolitan authority must be able to open up,
through state legislative action, new tax sources to tap the
great wealth that exists in the metropolis, taken as a whole.
The assumption that only the Federal government can tap this
wealth is untenable. The fact is that elected officials from
the suburbs who sit in the national legislature have been
just as unwilling to vote these funding programs as have the
suburban-based elected officials who sit in the state
legislatures.[84]

3. The Federal government will need to look outside
the framework of its own agencies and programs for the most
meaningful solutions: The metropolitan problem is more a
problem of local government organization than one of re-
organization of Federal administrative agencies, and their
grant-making or revenue-sharing procedures.

4. A radical change will be required in the present
direction of Federal policy as regards the structure of
metropolitan planning organizations. To date, areawide
agencies have been required and assisted on the fundamental
principle that what is to be represented are units of
government, rather than people. The problems of the metro-
polis are, however, not the same as, and certainly larger
than the problems of the local government units which they
encompass. True community decisions that will be the basis
for state legislative action, require more than a concensus
among local government officials—they require an areawide
policy making structure that essentially represents the
people of the area.

5.   The traditional emphasis, in the Federal government's relations with States and localities, on relations with governors and mayors will have to change to include a new emphasis on a metropolitan, rather than a municipal, definition of the "city". The 1970 census has made it plain that the national administration can no longer deal simply with the central city and believe it is effectively relating to urban problems. Increasingly, it will have to deal with urban areas as a whole. The problem is that urban areas are not presently organized to be dealt with as a whole.

6.   It will be necessary to abandon most of the old stereotypes about "cities" and "suburbs". Not all central cities are poor, black, and Democratic. Not all suburbs are rich, white, and Republican. Properly represented in an appropriately structured areawide body politic, the various parts of the area will combine and recombine from issue to issue.

While the strategy of using the leverage of the Federal government to bring together a representative areawide authority with a state legislature is relatively untried, there are some compelling arguments to support it. Constitutionally, the principal warehouse of powers that are critical to the solution of metropolitan problems is the state legislature. Federal officials and State governors can entice, propose, criticize, threaten, and perhaps punish. But it is the legislature that must act. It is the legislature that controls the land use laws, the tax laws, the school aid formula, the municipal aid formula, the building codes, the system of criminal justice, the funding of public programs, and, in many cases, the limits on the levies of local units and the salaries of local officials. It may be partially incorrect to say, but it appears on a logical basis that much of the "urban crisis" is in the state legislatures.

The key to this warehouse is the establishment of con-
census within the metropolis and its constituent communities
as to what is wanted. State legislators, to include those
from outside the metropolitan area, are frequently unwilling
to act constructively on matters of less than statewide
scope in the face of substantial disagreement within the
area most immediately affected. Therefore, no solution for
metropolitan problems through legislative action is probable
without a mechanism for shaping a consensus at the regional
level.

The mechansim, in turn, must have political validity.
An "advisory" mechanism is not sufficient. Nor is a con-
sensus developed solely among local officials, or solely
among civic groups. The legislature will, inevitably, and
can, legitimately, throw up against any such proposal the
same basic question raised, for example, by federal highway
officials, when asked to tie their projects to metropolitan
plans: "What do these projects represent, politically?"
Thus political validity requires that the concensus-making
mechanism be (1) statutory, and (2) representative, in its
system of voting, of the geographic areas constructed on an
equal-population-district basis.

Together, the MPDA and the state legislature should
move toward a reorganization of government at the metropolitan
(regional) level on the basis of the following principles:

1. That the need is not for the consolidation or
abolition of local governments and their functions, but for
the capable handling of functions felt by the local area to
be essentially areawide in character.

2. That the issue is not whether a metropolitan govern-
ment is to exist, but whether the metropolitan government
that does exist is to be controlled on questions of basic
policy, by an authority genuinely representative of and
responsible to the people of the area.

3.   That, in bringing existing and proposed regional planning arrangements and special-purpose districts under control, what is critical to abolish is not their existence, but their independence. Typically, these agencies do a masterful job of planning and building the component parts of the system to which they are assigned. The problem is their unwillingness to be coordinated, either with each other or any general development policy for the region.

4.   That the critical need is for the creation of a metropolitan policy body that would have truly effective control over specialized agencies through an ability to control their membership, their planning and their finance. On the basis of the findings in this research, such a body must meet at least the following specifications: (a) it must be a multipurpose instrument capable of dealing with the relatedness of metropolitan problems; (b) it must be a democratic instrument—it should be politically accountable on an areawide basis; (c) the new instrument must be decentralized in terms of both decision making and administration—it must share the power it helps to create; and (d) the new instrument should encourage some sense of local community by not disrupting cultural, traditional, or geographical ties in existing municipalities.

The formation of metropolitan governments would be one necessary strategy for accommodating impending growth in a way that does not permanently harden the present metropolitan pattern. However, a reorganization of the system of local finance to balance needs and services is warranted if the present inequitable fiscal pattern in the metropolis is to be corrected.

Historically, the Federal and State governments have had to carry the burden of ameliorating the fiscal disparities among metropolitan jurisdictions. Apart from special districts and occasional use of payroll taxes and charges for services, metropolitan machinery to permit local

jurisdictions to share a regional tax base or otherwise
provide transfers among local jurisdictions in a metropolitan
area has been lacking.

A promising way for resolving the problem of fiscal
disparities in metropolitan areas was advanced by the
Minnesota legislature in 1971.[85] The State established a
system whereby all local governments in the Minneapolis-St.
Paul region must share all new and improved nonresidential
tax bases. The local jurisdiction where the new or improved
commercial or industrial facilities are located is allotted
60 percent of the tax base these facilities create. The
other 40 percent must be shared among all the jurisdictions
within the metropolitan area according to a formula based
primarily on the projection of the region's total population
in each jurisdiction, and to a lesser extent on the
jurisdiction's fiscal need.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations,
in its 1971 Annual Report, characterized this action as both
ingenious and desirable. The appraisal of the ACIR was
highly optimistic:[86]

> This pioneering effort should help to break
> down the barriers between central city and
> suburbs, and between suburbs and rural areas.
> It reduces the incentives for fiscal zoning
> and the flight of industry and large com-
> mercial ventures to lower-taxed suburbs—two
> of the most stubborn obstacles to an orderly
> urban growth policy. It admittedly is a
> modest beginning—one which partially shares
> the tax base through a method that is partially
> on an equalizing basis—but it is a first step
> accomplished without creating either a new tax
> or a new agency.

Burdens and services would both, therefore, tend to be
less disparate among the parts of the region. Further, the
present system of local finance, which is a major obstacle
to achieving orderly urban development, would be diminished.
Base-sharing, because it works with the taxable valuations
of existing local units, is certainly a preferable

alternative to the imposition of a metropolitan taxing district.

Our metropolises, particularly with the advent of revenue sharing, are imperatively in need of redesign. The proposals described in Chapter III and the principles, criteria and instruments of reform summarized above are testimonials to this fact. But this redesign will take time, and time favors the continuance of the problem rather than the development of solutions. What is needed now is an areawide instrument, fashioned to the specifications above, to begin the tasks of implementing metropolitan planning and development strategies. Although the connotation described herein has been an instrument rather than a government, general-purpose metropolitan government could be the instrument for carrying out the metropolitan planning and development strategy if it met the above specifications. What follows is a proposal for such an instrument.

It would be an elective Metropolitan Planning and Development Authority (MPDA). Since it would be an instrument capable of dealing with the relatedness of regional problems which are highly influenced by national and statewide strategies of planning and development, it should be largely financed by State governments with additional incentive monies available from the Federal government. The Federal money would be tied to some strong and sizable strings relating to such matters as representativeness, environmental protection, and priority attention to the widening of choices and options for the poor, near-poor, and minorities. The Federal government would seek to induce States to create the MPDAs through the energetic use of fiscal carrots and sticks. This could be incorporated into the legislation of special revenue sharing as a requirement for any Federal funds to do planning on a metropolitan scale. However, where the States did not do so, the MPDAs should be considered as a direct creation by the Federal government.

The MPDA would serve as the primary delivery mechanism for all Federal programs in the following categories anywhere in its area; housing and community development, transportation, environmental protection, and economic development. It would supplant such present mechanisms as local housing authorities and redevelopment agencies as Federal funding channels. It would function as a secondary delivery system for Federal employment and service programs aimed at helping localities meet needs generated by its planning policies and development decisions.

The MPDA would have the powers of eminent domain and supercession of local building and land use regulations with respect to specified types of areawide decisions. Intercommunity problems which are not metropolitan problems would be dealt with through the powers reserved for the community districts. The MPDA would not be granted home rule powers: The Decision on the functions to be undertaken, the form of organization (not to be confused with the structure being outlined here), and the financing authority would remain with the state legislatures. Furthermore, in assigning functions and responsibilities, the legislatures must carefully confine the Authority to areawide functions only (or on a shared basis) and must carefully delimit the responsibilities of the Authority to the analysis, planning and implementation elements of the previously described normative planning framework. The construction and operation of facilities is not the responsibility of an MPDA; policies planning, issue analysis, plan making, and areawide coordination are their responsibility.

The MPDA would be comprised of equal population community districts somewhat smaller than the central cities and larger than the smallest suburbs. Each district would elect its own governing board and officers. These district boards, in turn, would choose delegates to form the areawide MPDA governing board. Officers of the MPDA would be chosen

in an areawide general election, would serve on a full-time
basis, and would be paid salaries consistent with attracting
and retaining high caliber public officials. Members of the
districts should be paid at per diem for their services.
Both the areawide and district offices would have inter-
disciplinary professional staffs. While it would be up to the
state legislatures to undertake the provisions for the
election of members to the MPDA governing body, it is highly
recommended that the requisites for membership on that body
would limit office holders to overlapping six-year terms
that would be staggered over a set of elections. Further,
the qualifications of each member should be sufficiently
high to allow only those persons capable of thinking in real
depth, and with considerable freedom, about the fundamental
issues of metropolitan development to be selected for
possible office on the board.

The first step in the creation of an MPDA would be the
establishment of a metropolitan commission composed of local
elected officials, Federal and State representatives, and
citizen members. The citizen members would be chosen
through areawide general elections. In structuring the
position of Commission Director (or Chairperson), it is
important to clearly distinguish the two fundamental issues
involved. One is the question of the office itself; the
other is the question of the method by which the individual
is chosen for that office.

1. It is essential that the office exist clearly as a
leadership office, and not simply as an additional duty
imposed on one of the Commission members elected from and
continuing to represent, one of the community districts.
The Director would continue as a voting member representing
and serving the area as a whole, and must be free of the
potential conflicts of interest that would arise if he were
also the representative of a district. Precisely what role
the director would need to play, to maintain an appropriate

emphasis on at-large considerations within the deliberations of the Commission, would become clear only as the area gained experience with its Commission.

2. The Director must be a resident of the metropolitan area and selected by the Governor of the State with confirmation by the Senate. This would emphasize the character of the office as a leadership post, representing the area as a whole, in relation to a Commission partly elected by districts. It would clearly focus responsibility for the selection of the individual who would occupy the office. Further, it would continue a meaningful tie with the State government, on both the executive and legislative sides, thus affording maximum opportunity for the coordination of metropolitan programs and those State programs with which they would be closely involved.

As relationships become settled, and as the responsibilities of the Commission expand, the need for a political leader directly responsible to the people of the metropolitan area may dictate a shift to direct election of the Director. This would also open up an opportunity for a reorganization of the metropolitan governmental structure into a more conventional legislative/executive relationship. However, given the present stage in the evolution of areawide governments, the addition of an elective position at the metropolitan level is a bit premature.

In recognition of the differences between areas, many decisions about the MPDA's structure would be left to the Commission, but within overall Federal and State guidelines containing strings such as those cited above. Included in these decisions would be such crucial matters as the size of the community districts, the distribution of powers between the district and areawide levels, and the powers of the areawide officers in relation to the board of district delegates. The guidelines, in each case, would have to be firm enough to protect the presently powerless. In the

matter of district versus areawide MPDA powers, for example,
no district should be allowed to veto the development of
lower-income housing allotted to it through the areawide
development plan. Also, the areawide officers should have
sufficient checks on them to prevent their becoming "metro-
politan czars."

Thus, in one sense the MPDAs would be interim instruments
to implement areawide policies and development strategies
while the process of making far-reaching decisions about the
Federal structure, to include those about metropolitan
governance, goes on. However, in another sense, they would
be precursors to the formation of general-purpose metro-
politan governments. As they continue about their work,
they would become increasingly involved in operational as
well as developmental activities, if only to administer what
they had planned to be built pending the creation of broader
and more permanent metropolitan governmental entities.
Conceivably, one possible outcome could be the evolution of
MPDAs into metropolitan federations, or other forms of
general-purpose metropolitan government. However, this need
not be the intention to justify their creation. MPDAs are
needed in any case to undertake the urgent task of reshaping
the American metropolis.

Summary

The two proposals described above are not dissimilar
concepts. The development of a normative framework for
metropolitan planning is aimed primarily at expanding the
scope of planning to bring it more in line with the
characteristics of those problems, issues and participants
involved with the development of a metropolis. It is a
policies instrument that neither replaces the comprehensive
plan nor attempts to predetermine the goals that will be
translated into the plan. Normative planning centers its
attention on coordination, on achieving action, and on

expanding the policies base for more relevant decision making. Normative planning is a policies instrument that becomes a tool for guiding metropolitan growth.

The creation of an MPDA as an interim measure until the processes of decision making with regard to a form of metropolitan government are completed, is essential to the proper conduct of policies planning. On the basis of the evidence and conclusions contained in Chapter III, no current form of urban government or planning agency is capable (in terms of legal power, fiscal resources, manpower, and political representation) of effectively conducting the tasks of normative metropolitan planning as previously outlined. The performance of each element in normative planning requires an authoritative agency, such as the MPDA, that can work with State, Federal and local interests in resolving matters of conflict that would normally be the responsibility of an areawide government. Indeed, the concept of the MPDA, as outlined herein, was conceived from an analysis of each of the elements in the normative framework with one theme in mind: Who or what is best for handling this element as well as the relatedness of each of these elements?

Many persons, particularly those involved in planning, government and land development, may find these proposals antithetical to the more popularly held norms and publicized characteristics of our time: distrust of government, decentralization of government functions, racial and ethnic separatism, rising suburban power, the rout of liberal reform, the counterrevolution against rising expectations, etc. Perhaps others will find these proposals extravagent and grandiose. They will argue for the achievements of past consolidations of change noting the need for accepting any further change in only small and incremental dosages. They will warn against upsetting (perhaps frightening) the public with large initiatives of reform and thereby preventing any change at all.

It is tempting to squelch all of these arguments with
the contentions that these proposals are both necessary and
entirely in scale with this nation's metropolitan domestic
needs and problems. And, moreover, that they would work, as
incremental metropolitan reform has and will not. However,
beyond these contentions, there are other, and perhaps more
compelling reasons, for why the proposals outlined here are
necessary and achievable.

First, these proposals represent a kind of economy of
scale as regards change. Most of the reforms of the past
thirty years have been too small, particularly in conception,
to make a difference. Mechanisms to reform governmental
institutions have been and will continue to be attempted.
But, the reform of metropolitan government is only one aspect
of the reform strategies needed to improve the abilities of
metropolitan areas to govern themselves. Present planning
approaches to the solution of metropolitan problems are
archaic and ill-structured. The scope of planning must be
expanded to move urban planning out of the quagmire of its
traditional physical orientation into the broader framework
of policies planning and urban analysis. Thus, metropolitan
reform means more than government reorganization; each
service function within government must be examined in much
the same way as the institution when questions of change are
posited. The proposals herein are entirely within the context
of this mandate and are, therefore, deemed more adequate
reform instruments than are their precursors. Prior attempts
at reform, being "undersized" at birth, were more vulnerable
to the rigors of legislative processes which all mechanisms
of change must undergo in our American political system.

The American public, being neither ignorant nor naive,
is highly unlikely to continue shelling out public money for
the application of a bandaid to treat a cancer. They are far
more likely to respond to a sense of new direction for the
nation than to seemingly endless appeals to rally against

specific problems. The proposals suggested here represent a means for such a new direction in the areas where so much of the nation lives. Its success, however, would require astute leadership from both the State and Federal levels of the nation's political system. The executive branches of these levels of government would have to place metropolitan reform very high on their agendas for both the States and the Nation. They would have to convince state legislatures and the Congress to use their appropriations in far more purposeful ways, even beyond the concepts of revenue sharing schemes.

The resistance offered to these proposals by local and State levels of government might not be as much as one might imagine. The States would be afforded a means by which to grasp many of the crisis-scale problems of metropolitan areas, which have become perennially abrasive and divisive problems for them. The cities, on the other hand, would wind up with more, rather than less, Federal money through the trading of development funds for service funds. As discussed in Chapter II, it is the citys' operating budgets rather than their capital budgets that are causing their current fiscal emergency. Needed development programs within their boundaries would be accomplished through the MPDAs. Thus, the real loss to city hall would be the power that comes with control of Federally funded development programs. In return, city hall would be relieved of problems which are impossible to solve within their jurisdiction. It would be difficult to conceive of a mayor, manager or commission that would not gladly accept the trade.

The issue of power redistribution in relation to the urban blacks partially parallels the situation of the city executive, since moving into city hall is their primary political objective at the moment. Additionally, the creation of an MPDA would offer new ladders to power, with rungs emanating from within their communities. Their determination and pride to improve these communities, which

is the most hopeful prodigy on the current urban scene, would
be more likely to produce results under an MPDA concept than
in the present context which yields only frustration as long
as the really substantial resources and opportunities are on
the other side of the metropolitan wall. The white poor and
near-poor groups in the cities would benefit in a similar
fashion. Since one major policy of the metropolitan area
would be to encourage and promote the enlarging of housing
and jobs, racial and class conflicts would be lessened in
direct relation to the increased opportunities.

The suburbs, which share a stake in the stability of
metropolitan society, and thus in the survival and re-
vitalization of the cities, would receive tangible benefits
denied them by the present condition of metropolis—better
and more transportation and recreational facilities, cleaner
air and water, and a more rational arrangement of the focal
points of their lives. Further, as noted earlier, many so-
called "suburbs" are sharing increasingly in the problems
labeled "urban". An MPDA would enable them as well as the
cities to deal with these problems, and perhaps help prevent
their spread to those suburbs so far spared.

The prospects for the creation of MPDAs, who can engage
in comprehensive policies planning and the guidance of
metropolitan development, is not only dependent upon
imaginative leadership and political management, it is
partially dependent on the development of tools needed to
better understand relationships between service functions
and to weigh the costs and benefits of a variety of new
public programs. Normative planning depends also on the
attitudes of the planning profession towards defining or
redefining its responsibilities. For a variety of reasons,
however, this theoretically important step in the advancement
of the profession has often been neglected. Significant
changes in the methodology and context of planning demand
that planners devote more of their time to charting future

directions for the metropolis. Planning can no longer afford
to be a process that simply accommodates the inevitable.
Conscious efforts are being made to change and reform the
urban system and its means of governance. To be a viable
part of this change, planning must become more policies-
oriented and allow for the interaction of the public and
their elected officials as a part of this orientation. The
proposed normative framework for metropolitan planning is
presented herein as one such step along the way to this
objective.

Metropolitan Government: A Matter of Choice

The creation of MPDAs is viewed in this research as an
alternative mechanism that would serve as a stepping stone
toward the eventual adoption of a general-purpose areawide
government. It is, therefore, only an interim measure and
should not be construed as a substitute for the need to
continue the debate and investigation into desirable forms
of government for the metropolis. Ultimately, MPDAs should
be converted into governmental bodies in order to permit the
integration of other urban services with those services to
be performed by MPDAs. Only through a broadly based
government at the metropolitan level could such an integration
be achieved. Further, such an integration is necessary if
truly efficient and economical service is to be provided to
the residents of a metropolis for all urban functions, not
just planning-related functions.

The achievement of a government for the metropolis in-
volves many issues and questions. Two issues are of impor-
tance to this research as regards normative metropolitan
planning. One issue involves the form of areawide government
that would best accommodate the service functions of
government for a metropolis in accordance with various
criteria of efficiency, equity, accountability, and
effectiveness; the other issue involves the nature of

functional assignment techniques and the relationship between functional responsibility and the sharing of power. This last section will discuss and analyze these issues because of their importance to the transformation of MPDAs into metropolitan governments. Much of what will be discussed relies on the comparative analysis of alternative structures contained in Chapter III. However, this material is viewed as a necessary extension of that discussion to arrive at some conclusion(s) concerning which, if any, form of areawide government best serves the interests of metropolis.

Functional responsibility in a federal system is naturally diffuse. No single level of government bears the sole responsibility for the delivery of any domestic function. As a result, the concept of today's federalism is a cooperative venture. However, while cooperation is a characteristic of urban federalism, it is difficult to come by in the daily performance of a function. The underlying rationale behind this phenomenon is relatively simple to identify; the resolution is not. What is shared in federalism is power, and the sharing of power is not an easy task, be it among individuals or governments.

The debate over the proper assignment of urban functions arises in the context of formulating alternative arrangements that would in effect have to share power. This debate is more than just a technical controversy over which level of government is best suited to perform various functions;[87] it is also an argument about the ends of government, as well as the means, values, and benefits associated with such ends.[88] Further, it is an issue that involves preferences about the scope and exercise of power at all levels of government. Essentially, then, the assignment of functions question hangs on expectations and attitudes as to how power can be allocated to various levels of government in a way that satisfies the mutual interests of the many publics involved in the division of power—local, metropolitan, State, and national constituencies.[89]

Sharing Power Over Functions

Power is frequently divided in an urbanized federal system. However, it is rarely allocated on a purely functional basis. Instead, certain aspects of single functions fall within the jurisdiction of one or more levels of government. Thus, if a function is to be effectively performed, it frequently must be within a collaborative framework which permits jurisdictions to play distinct, but interlocking roles.

This sharing of power over functional responsibilities contributes largely to the dynamic nature of the federal system. Several reasons support this contention. First, the American public perceives different values to various levels of government.[90] Thus, local government may be associated with the values of freedom and choice. State government, with its regulatory capabilities, might represent order, while the national government may be favored for effective public expenditure policies.[91] Therefore, different governments would assume different roles in the performance of these functions depending on the values attached to those functions. For example, over time the national government would become more important in matters relating to income redistribution, States would play an advanced role in the amount and quality of land development, and local governments would experience renewed demands to provide more and better human resource services. In brief, when public values concerning the nature of a function change, responsibilities concerning the service delivery of that function may shift.

Secondly, the sharing of power contributes to the viability of the federal system since jurisdictional con-flicts will arise over the relative importance of the various components of a particular function. As a case in point, in land use control, local governments may stress the de-velopment aspects of the function while the regulatory

aspects of the service—environmental control or low-income population dispersal—may be the concern of higher levels of government.[92] Because the various levels of government have jurisdiction over different functional components, they often attempt to change the relative emphasis of these sub-functions. As this occurs, one or another level of government may become more or less important in the performance of a function.

Finally, the sharing of power is a source of dynamism because of the desire of each level of government to maintain its continuing role in the performance of a function. Some-times governments will attempt to carve out areas of exclusive functional control. As was previously discussed, the States' rights and local home rule movements are perhaps the most prominent cases of this tendency. In other in-stances, the contest takes the form of whether a unit of government will not be a party to a multi-level program such as those characterized by the debates over Federal block grants in recent years.[93]

These various jurisdictional tensions have, on occasion, produced new mechanisms and procedures for the performance of an entire function, or portions thereof. Yet, consistently, the various levels of government still exert influence over these new mechanisms and procedures. Issues of funding, representation, and operating powers usually are formulated in a manner that furthers, advantageously of course, the interests of affected units of existing government.[94]

As federalism is basically a system of shared power over common functional responsibilities, an analysis of where such responsibilities should be lodged is related with defining the general roles of various levels of government rather than attempting to enumerate their specific functional responsibilities. Unfortunately, the theory of federalism offers no a priori rationale for even a broad division of functional assignments. As Davis has stated:[95]

> . . . the federal principle does not pre-
> scribe any physical, moral, or qualitative
> conditions for the distribution of functions.
> It is indifferent to the precise content of
> the division, and it argues that there is no
> a priori principle by which a distribution
> of functions could be affected. The
> definitive element of the federal state is
> simply in the form of the division, not its
> substance; in the creation of a specific
> kind of jural relationship between law-
> making authorities, not in the material
> quality of the functions vested in the
> general and regional governments.

The problem of functional assignment in a federal system, then, is the subject of considerable political debate over the substantive dimensions of a given function, as well as over the general nature and extent of governmental power at all jurisdictional levels. At the same time, federalism is concerned with the rules by which functions are allocated, though it is silent with regard to a particular substantive formula for allocating such functions. The basic theme of federalism is that any durable allocation of functions must guarantee, to some degree, the joint agreement of the several parties involved in or affected by an assignment decision.[96]

Considerable research has been conducted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations on conceptual considerations in the assignment of functions.[97] The latest Commission report, Governmental Functions and Processes: Local and Areawide, concluded that there exists myriad patterns of substate functional assignment, most of which are ad hoc and unsystematic. Consequently, the Commission felt that a major task in future attempts at metropolitan reform would be the development of more comprehensive and systematic policies for the assignment of functions to areawide and local governments. The Commission added that the dimensions of this task would require a consideration of (1) criteria or rules for functional assignment; (2) an

appraisal of the procedural and structural means of
allocating or reallocating functional responsibilities; and
(3) an understanding of the exact nature of the functions,
sub-functions, and activities to be assigned. To determine
how functions are or might be allocated in a substate con-
text, the Commission noted the following:[98]

1. Functions and component activities are
allocated and periodically reassigned among
Federal, State, and local governments as
well as among different types of local
government. Presently, human resource
services such as health and hospital,
welfare, and higher education are centralized
at the county or State level, while the bulk
of physical development and public safety
services, such as police, fire, sewerage,
housing, urban renewal, parks and recreation,
are provided at a local level.

2. Policies which have a significant impact
on the allocation of functional responsibilities
include intergovernmental aid programs that
channel categorical or block grant monies to
preferred jurisdictions; the development of
new-style Federal and State districting
mechanisms that have assumed components of
certain functions; and the availability of
different structural and procedural means
for changing or conditioning functional
assignments.

3. Assignment criteria are a main component
of a performance of functions policy. Four
main guides emerge as pivotal considerations:
economic efficiency, fiscal equity, political
accountability, and administrative effectiveness.
(The specific assignment criteria are indicated
in Table V-3.)

4. Assignment criteria complement or conflict
with one another. Clearly all criteria cannot
be achieved simultaneously in a functional
assignment. Equity demands often conflict
with those of economic efficiency. Similar
conflicts arise between components of the
administrative effectiveness and the political
accountability standards. At the same time,
however, many sub-components of these criteria
complement one another. Public sector
competition and citizen participation are

Table V-3.   Criteria for the Assignment of Functions

1.   ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY: Functions should be assigned (a)
to jurisdictions that are large enough to realize economies
of scale and small enough not to incur diseconomies of scale,
(b) to jurisdictions that are willing to provide alternative
service offerings at a price range and level of effectiveness
acceptable to local citizenry, and (c) to jurisdictions that
adopt pricing policies for their functions when appropriate.

2.   EQUITY: Functions should be assigned (a) to jurisdictions
that are large enough to encompass the costs and benefits of
a function or that are willing to compensate other
jurisdictions for the service costs imposed or benefits re-
ceived by them, (b) to jurisdictions that have adequate
fiscal capacity to finance their public service responsibili-
ties in a manner which insures interpersonal and inter-
jurisdictional fiscal equalization, and (c) to jurisdictions
that are able to absorb the financial risks involved.

3.   POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY: Functions should be assigned
(a) to jurisdictions that are controllable by, accessible
to, and accountable to their residents and (b) to
jurisdictions that maximize the conditions and opportunities
for active and productive citizen participation.

4.   ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS: Functions should be
assigned to jurisdictions (a) that are responsible for a
sufficient number of functions and that can balance com-
peting functional interests, (b) that encompass a logical
geographic area for effective performance of a function,
(c) that explicitly determine the goals and means of dis-
charging assigned public service responsibilities and that
periodically reassess program goals in light of performance
standards, (d) that are willing to pursue intergovernmental
means of promoting interlocal functional cooperation and
reducing interlocal functional conflict, and (e) that have
adequate legal authority and management capability to
perform   a function.

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations,
Governmental Functions and Processes: Local and Areawide,
vol. IV, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System
(Washignton: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 99.

mutually compatible as are economies of scale,
geographic adequacy, and management capability.
Decisions about which criteria and sub-
criteria are significant in a function, then,
affect not only assignment decisions, but
also the manner in which the particular public
service will be delivered.

5. Assignment criteria do not unequivocally
favor delegation of functions to any
particular level of local government. Thus,
political accountability favors allocation
of functions to smaller, local jurisdictions
while equity often demands the attention of
larger, more encompassing units. Elements of
economic efficiency and administrative
effectiveness favor delegating functions to
both local and regional units. A central
problem, then, is the determination of which
criteria are most important in the delivery
of a particular service. At the very least,
however, assignments which patently violate
most or all of these criteria describe the
general principles that should be weighed in
developing a balanced and rational assignment
of functions policy.

Thus, the mandate for the functional assignment process
at a substate level is anything but clear. As indicated,
the creation of MPDAs would involve questions centering on
whose responsibility it is to perform a variety of urban
services at a metropolitan scale. Because of the vague and
sketchy procedures available, it appears that this will be
a most difficult and politically volatile process. The use
of ACIR's criteria may be of some comfort. However, a note
of caution is in order. Delineating a set of assignment
criteria, other than the status quo, with its strengths,
weaknesses, and trade-offs often requires a new focus. For
example, must public goods necessarily be assigned along
strict functional lines or could their provision focus on
common activities. The problem is that a public good, such
as police protection, has no operational content. Rather,
police protection is a wide and complex array of inter-
related activities that differ from jurisdiction to
jurisdiction. Much of the current thinking on reorganization

assumes that the provision of public goods is solely a functional process. However, there is no evidence to support the implication that either centralization or decentralization must assume a functional rather than an activity format.

Another problem is the existence of politically sensitive trade-offs inherent in any allocation of public activities to various governmental units. If each activity, or set of related activities were to be delegated to some jurisdiction (not necessarily already in existence) based on some specific set of criteria, we could well evolve a system of government more complex and irrational than the one we presently have. In short, the whole may well be different than the sum of its parts.

In general, these four criteria and their subcomponents focus on either the level or type of government to which a function is to be assigned. Thus, some of the criteria argue for areawide or State provision of a function and others for local provision of a service. Still other criteria argue for certain types of governmental units to perform the service at an areawide or local level. Table V-4 indicates the relationship of the various criteria subcomponents to the issue of functional assignment.

In practice, these criteria argue for the assignment of certain activities regionally and others locally. But since many functions have subcomponents that are of an areawide or local nature, they frequently argue for local or areawide assignment of these subcomponents (see Table V-5). In short, functions and activities can be assigned to local, areawide and State units of government on the basis of these ideal assignment criteria.

Table V-4. Assignment Criteria and Their Relationship to the Level and Form of Government to Which a Function Should be Assigned99

Criteria Subcomponent	Level of Government To Which Function is Assigned	Type of Government is Assigned
ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY— Economies of Scale	Areawide or State	
FISCAL EQUITY— Economic Externalities	Areawide or State	
FISCAL EQUITY— Fiscal Equalization	Areawide or State	
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS— Geographic Adequacy	Areawide or State	
POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY— Access and Control	Local	
POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY— Citizen Participation	Local	
ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY— Service Competition	Local	
ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY— Public Pricing		Technically Proficient
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS— Management Capability		Technically Proficient
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS— Legal Adequacy		Authoritative
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS— General Purpose Character		Authoritative
ADMINISTRATIVE EFFECTIVENESS— Intergovernmental Flexibility		Cooperative

Table V-5. Hypothetical Assignment for Components of
            Functional Activities

Activity/Component	Areawide	Shared	Local
PLANNING			
Intelligence	x		
Forecasting	x		
Plan Formulation		x	
Operation Review		x	
Liaison/Coordination	x		
FINANCING			
Revenue Raising		x	
Revenue Distribution	x		
Fiscal Control		x	
Budgeting			x
STAFFING			
Selection			x
Recruitment		x	
Training	x		
Appointment/Removal			x
ADMINISTRATION			
Supervision	x		
Management Analysis		x	
Productivity Analysis		x	
Technical Assistance	x		
STANDARD SETTING			
Formulation of Rules		x	
Rule Interpretation	x		
Rule Adjudication	x		
Rule Evaluation		x	
Rule Amendment		x	
Rule Enforcement			x
ENFORCEMENT			
Investigation	x		
Inspection	x		
Licensing	x		
Certification	x		
SERVICE DELIVERY			
Operations			x
Construction			x
INFORMATION			
Record-Keeping		x	
Communication		x	
Data Collection		x	
Reporting			x
Public Relations			x

Table V-5.   Continued

Activity/Component	Areawide	Shared	Local
EVALUATION			
Fact-Finding	x		
Public Hearings		x	
Testing/Analysis	x		
Consultation		x	

Source: ACIR, <u>Governmental Function and Processes: Local and Areawide</u> (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 10.

At the same time, however, application of these assignment criteria is not an easy task. These standards are not always mutually compatible or easily ordered. Many functions (i.e., social services and land use controls) have differing elements of political accountability and fiscal equity, for example. The first criterion would argue for local assignment of the service; the latter for regional or State assignment. It is not always completely clear, then, which level of government should be accorded the responsibility for the service. Much depends on how important each criteria is in the delivery of a particular service.

Functional assignment criteria offer a normative guide to a more effective allocation of service responsibilities among State, areawide, and local jurisdictions. Considerations of economic efficiency, fiscal equity, political accountability, and administrative effectiveness are prominent issues in functional assignment debates. Simultaneously, the urgency of the allocation issue is highlighted by numerous pressures; local fiscal disparities; nationally sponsored areawide programs; the emergence of stronger State bureaucracies; and continued emphasis on human resource service decentralization. A systematic assignment policy and process involving all levels of government is needed.

Such a policy would permit a more reasoned and manageable apportionment of service responsibilities among State, area- wide, and local governments. However, prior to the develop- ment of such a policy is the need for creating general- purpose areawide governments. As previously alluded to, the options are many; the choice is another matter.

Alternative Governmental Structures

Despite the fact that the theory of federalism does not indicate criteria for the allocation of functions and powers among different types and levels of government, various political, economic, and administrative theorists have developed different governmental models which can be related to the assignment of service functions. As discussed in Chapter III, a number of metropolitan areas have attempted structural and procedural changes which typify one or another of these approaches. The discussion to follow will review the theory of these governance models in relation to the need for balancing criteria of assignment and service responsibilities among State, areawide, and local jurisdic- tions.[100]

There are three distinct governmental alternatives for functional assignment. In general, they vary to the degree that they espouse centralization or decentralization of functions, powers, and activities between local and regional governments. One school of thought favors a decentralized or polycentric approach to the reapportionment of service responsibilities. Another favors a consolidated form of government, which provides both local and areawide services. Still another school favors a two-tier federation with a formal division of responsibilities between areawide and local jurisdictions.

Polycentric/Decentralized. The first governmental
system, exemplified by the writings of Bish, Warren, and
Ostrom, argues against a preordained or centrally determined
division of responsibilities in metropolitan areas. Instead,
they have detailed the virtues of an ad hoc, bargained
approach to structuring functional assignment.[101] The
approach has both local and regional jurisdictions, but the
regional units have no formally delegated functional
responsibilities. Rather they assume functions that are
transferred to them by underlying local governments or that
they perform for constituent units by contract. Consequently,
the polycentric method for assigning services involves the
market method of allocating functions to different levels
of government. Functions—local, areawide, and State—are
provided only by the governments that choose or are sought
out to perform them.

Polycentric forms of service allocation are described
as having several benefits, including (1) increased re-
sponsiveness to individual public service demands, (2)
greater levels of political control, (3) more efficient
production of public goods, and (4) more durable cooperation
in the provision of such goods.[102]

Polycentricity improves responsiveness to consumer
needs, so the argument runs, because a citizen is able to
choose among a number of local governments to satisfy his
preferences. Tiebout's argument indicates that the consumer,
by his spatial mobility, is able to choose that jurisdiction
which provides the approximate mix of public expenditures
he desires.[103] Moreover, communities themselves may follow
a strategy of structuring their service outputs in such a
way as to attract or repel various types of citizen consumers.
In this way, both citizens and local jurisdictions interact
to match the supply and demand policies relating to public
goods. As a result, the fragmentation of metropolitan areas
is a central factor in allowing citizens to articulate their
public service demands.

Fragmentation produces other, primarily political benefits as well. Citizen access to local government is expanded and interest in the delivery of local public services is heightened.[104] In essence, fragmentation permits governmental organizations to be formed around natural and viable political communities. Within a polycentric system of governance, citizens feel that they can both influence and control the political system and not be alienated from its workings.

These theorists further maintain that under such a system, services are apt to be provided more efficiently. They argue that the process of service delivery competition tends to create better knowledge of how public goods might be more effectively produced. Metropolitan fragmentation permits, in their views, a better distinction to be made between the production and provision of public goods, with regional units competing in the production of services and local units bidding for different packages of such services.[105] Though they concede the fact that there are some difficulties with this division, they find that smaller jurisdictions can withhold their purchases of goods until larger units comply with their service demands.[106]

Finally, these analysts contend that governmental fragmentation need not prevent areawide needs from being met. Where common benefits exist, they argue, local units will seek to cooperate in joint ventures. Where jurisdictional conflicts arise, cooperation will ultimately occur as a result of either intervention by the State or the courts, or bargaining among affected jurisdictions to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement. Thus, the polycentrists acknowledge that interlocal cooperation cannot always be achieved voluntarily. But they take the stance that powers and responsibilities should be liberally distributed in a metropolitan governance system. In that way, local governments can be both independent and interdependent and that metropolitan conflicts can be duly resolved by bargaining, appeal

to higher jurisdictional authority, or the imposition of controls by actors external to metropolitan local governments.

In summary, the commended virtues of the polycentric system of functional assignment include:

1. The protection of jurisdictional and individual independence in the performance of urban functions;

2. The responsiveness to the diverse public services demands of a metropolitan community;

3. The emphasis on bargained and cooperative coordination of functional activity;

4. The creation of an open system of multiple access to areawide and local jurisdictions; and

5. The emphasis on experimentation and incremental progress towards areawide governance.

Consolidation. A second approach for distributing service responsibilities places all regional and local functions under a single consolidated unit of government. In this fashion, a unified government directly performs areawide services throughout its jurisdiction and administers local services through decentralized local service districts. The State performs those functions that the consolidated unit cannot manageably administer. Contending that fractionated government is the root of the functional assignment problem, consolidationists argue that governmental unification will produce (1) economy in government, (2) greater public service integration and coordination, (3) greater popular control over public service delivery, and (4) more efficient administration and equitable financing of public services.[107]

Consolidationists place only second-order importance to local governments. They contend that the existing local government structure splinters the responsibility for resolving areawide problems that essentially are indivisible in nature.[108] Moreover, they argue that local governments

will rarely cooperate in undertaking areawide responsibilities
since they are reluctant to surrender their jurisdictional
prerogatives. In short, local governments cannot be expected
to allocate scarce resources or adjudicate conflicting
interests to achieve workable metropolitan programs on a
disinterested or long-term basis.[109] Hence, as they view
it, local governments will rarely cooperate in a fashion
that would make either polycentric or other related forms of
government work.

Consolidationists contend that a key indication of the
ineffectiveness of local government activity is the extreme
variation of local capabilities in handling complex service
problems. Surveying the governmental landscape of most
metropolitan areas, they have found governments with in-
adequate fiscal and personnel resources, with circumscribed
boundaries and only limited management capability to identify
and resolve most of the urban problems facing them.[110]
Further, they point to the legal, structural, and fiscal
limitations which prevent these governments from taking a
cooperative and comprehensive approach to solving metro-
politan problems.[111] Consequently, the lack of effective
power among local governments prevents them from adopting
effective areawide solutions to most metropolitan problems.

Lack of effective local government, they contend, also
reduces meaningful popular control over regional decision
making. Citizens have access only to their own local
governments and cannot readily influence decisions outside
the scope of their locality. The proliferation of over-
lapping independent functional units, they point out,
frequently prevents priorities from being chosen among
competing services and further complicates the issue of
political accountability.

Therefore, consolidationists urge the creation of
institutions involving a single metropolitan government that
would plan and implement high-quality, coordinated, regional

and urban services according to the dictates of an areawide
political process.[112] In essence, they do not believe that
local voluntarism would produce workable solutions to metro-
politan assignment problems. Seeing localism as an unnecessary
veto to regional action, they argue for a unified metro-
politan government.

To sum up, consolidationists claim that unified metro-
politan government would result in:

1. More efficient production and management of urban
services and an end to disparate service levels in a metro-
politan area;

2. The creation of a democratic regional process which
will allow a metropolitan citizen to have greater access to
and control of regional decision making;

3. The development of comprehensive and coordinated
programs in accordance with an explicit metropolitan plan;
and

4. The abolition of interlocal functional conflict.

Federation. A third method apportions legal
responsibilities between general-purpose governments at
two levels. Proponents of a federated or two-tier approach
to the assignment of functions hold that most metropolitan
governance systems lack an authoritative general-purpose
political process at the areawide level and have an in-
effective one at the local level.[113] They contend that
there is too little centralization of areawide responsibili-
ties, overcentralization of some local ones, and too little
coordination of both. Unlike polycentrists, federationists
do not regard unregulated public service competition as a
virtue of the metropolitan policy. Rather, they see a need
for authoritative regional decision making which affects
both areawide and local jurisdictions. They desire more
decisive and less voluntaristic coordination of metropolitan
policies and programs.

The main features of a federated approach to metropolitan governance are (1) an aversion to the functionalist approach to assigning local and areawide responsibilities, (2) the creation of a general-purpose unit of limited areawide government, and (3) the development of concurrent power relationships between local and areawide units of government.[114]

The single most common theme of the federationists is the avoidance of a purely functional approach to the assignment question. Contending that the solution to the metropolitan governance problem is not through ad hoc assignments of regional functions to various regional bodies, they argue that the higher tier of government must do more than provide minimum areawide services and facilities. In their view, it must determine priorities among regional functions, provide a forum for conflict resolution in the metropolitan area, and coordinate local decision making below the areawide level.[115]

To structure metropolitan political power adequately, federationists urge the creation of a general-purpose areawide government which can provide regional services and serve as a focus for an areawide political process which will debate, decide upon, and implement metropolitan policies. By taking a generalist rather than a functionalist approach to structuring an areawide level of government, they claim that metropolitan policies will be determined by a general-purpose government rather than State or Federal governments. Metropolitan bureaucracies, therefore, would be more in tune with local and regional public service needs.[116]

Federationists further stipulate the need for concurrent power relationships between areawide and local governments. They hold that a key to effective functional assignment is the sharing of power over functions rather than a division of functions. This sharing of power would enable local and

areawide governments to negotiate the implementation of metropolitan policies.[117] The local citizenry could promote beneficial regional policies, restrain harmful ones, and, in general, have better access to the entire system of metropolitan government than they would have under either a polycentrist or consolidated format. The concurrent power relationships, in their view, would facilitate a more manageable allocation of functions and might help promote greater equity, representativeness, and responsiveness in metropolitan political systems.[118]

In summary, proponents of a two-tier federation approach claim that it will:

1. Encourage local rather than State or Federal determination of metropolitan policies;

2. Give the citizen greater and more regular access to the areawide decision making process;

3. Insure political rather than administrative solutions to areawide problems;

4. Create less tolerance for local policy decisions that have unfavorable metropolitan ramifications, and for areawide policies that are highly detrimental to local communities;

5. Permit systematic and coordinated rather than ad hoc solutions to metropolitan problems; and

6. Foster a consensual and planned division of labor among areawide and local levels of government.

Some Comparative Findings

Each of the three governmental arrangements for administering local and areawide services exists in one form or the other in one or more metroplitan areas, with the first being the most prevalent. All three obviously reflect different political preferences for the assignment of local and areawide services. Generally all three models, to a

greater or lesser degree, meet some of the ideal assignment criteria already enumerated. Further, in each of the three models of metropolitan government there are divergent and similar theoretical dictates relating to the formulation of metropolitan policy and the assignment of fucntions. In summary, the comparative theoretical aspects of the models is discussed as follows.

Multiple decision making centers exist in both the polycentric and federated models; i.e., citizens and communities have considerable access to the nerve centers of decision making in these systems. Political access in the federated governmental model is to a general-purpose areawide unit as well as to a local jurisdiction. Thus, when used effectively, it has a more extensive impact than under the polycentric scheme where access may only be to a special-purpose unit of government or to a local government which has, at best, only a limited voice in regional concerns.

Citizen control of matters requiring a metropolitan forum of decision making appear to be more direct under the federated and consolidationist forms of metropolitan governance. The polycentric system usually displays no mechanism for the direct accountability of affected constituencies in matters of areawide importance and decision making.

The federated approach to areawide governance incorporates formal, comprehensive power relationships between local and areawide units; informal, functional ones exist in the polycentric system. Previously designated functional assignments occur in the federated model, while functional assignments in the polycentric model are ad hoc and often unplanned in nature.

Both the polycentric and consolidated models make claims to greater efficiencies as regards the delivery of services to their constituencies. In the polycentric scheme, citizens only consume those services that they desire while in the

unified approach, service duplication is avoided. Addition-
ally, both make claims that their approaches provide
economies of scale in the production of public services.
On the other hand, however, service adequacy is more likely
to be an aim of the federated and consolidated models where
minimum and uniform levels of service would be more apt to
occur. A polycentric system theoretically displays more
uneven governmental capabilities among local and diverse
areawide units and invites superior levels of government
to assume and concomitantly to assure service adequacy
through functional grants or legislative mandate.

Intergovernmental conflict is theoretically greatest
in the federated approach to metropolitan governance. Poly-
centric models place a premium on functional cooperation
whereas intergovernmental tension naturally exists in
federated models where local and areawide responsibilities
affect one another. On the other hand, the federated
instrumentality is capable of adjudicating intergovernmental
conflict more effectively than the polycentric approach.
In the federated arrangement, the areawide tier of govern-
ment is in a position to mediate conflict among local units,
whereas in the polycentric situation, conflict resolution
would either be lacking or come from actors outside the
metropolitan political process.

The federated and consolidated models would be more
likely to strengthen processes of metropolitan decision
making than would the polycentric scheme. In the former, a
general-purpose governance process encompasses the entire
metropolitan area and priorities among the various functional
requirements in a metropolitan area can be established. In
the federated approach, standard-setting would be the
responsibility of the areawide tier of government while a
consolidated government would be naturally inclined to
provide uniform levels of certain services.

Theoretically, service equity may be better achieved in both the federated and consolidated systems of government. Equalization of revenue capabilities might occur in a consolidated governance system while such a task would be the responsibility of a second tier of government under the federated model. Certain service inequities could occur, however, in a consolidated model where different neighborhoods were accorded different servicing treatments.

In summary, the above discussion and analysis regarding the comparative findings of several theoretical perspectives concerning three models of alternative governmental structures, implies the following generalistic tendencies about each: (1) polycentric models seem to be voluntaristic, functional, non-redistributive and consensual in nature; (2) consolidationist models are non-voluntaristic, comprehensive, potentially redistributive, and hierarchial in nature; and (3) federated models are non-voluntaristic, comprehensive, potentially redistributive, and negotiative in nature.

The discussion herein would indeed be deficient if an adequate analysis of any empirical research were not conducted to validate or refute the previous theoretical findings. Unfortunately, very little empirical evidence exists that would afford analysts with comparative data on which to evaluate the pros and cons of these various strategies that have been employed to achieve areawide governance and effective areawide delivery of services. Most of the findings are merely descriptive accounts of practical perspectives regarding the development of operational criteria for the creation of alternative governmental structures that would improve the abilities of local and metropolitan areas to govern themselves.[119] As such, the forwarding of conclusions on the basis of these operational dictates is a hazardous if not purely speculative adventure. Nonetheless, some recent findings of an empirical nature are worth noting.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
(ACIR) recently conducted empirical research on the above
three forms of alternative governmental structures as they
relate to governmental functions and processes in an area-
wide and local context.[120] All of their conclusions are
much too volumous to include in this discussion. However,
their comparative empirical findings about the performance
of the three forms of metropolitan governance can be
summarized as follows:

1. Metropolitan conflict was, in general, resolved by
external intermediaries in polycentric governmental systems.
Federation governments displayed intensified political
conflict; indeed, the presence of a federated structure
appeared to have exacerbated some metropolitan tensions.
By way of contrast, political conflict appeared to be some-
what muted in consolidated structures.

2. Political access, according to ACIR, did not appear
to diminish in federated and consolidated governmental
systems. Individual political access in both the consolidated
and federated approaches increased because access to an
areawide governmental authority could be attained.

3. Overt popular dissatisfaction with the functional
assignment system appeared to be lowest in polycentric
systems. In the federated and consolidated arrangements,
lower-tier governments and both urban and rural minorities
on occasion felt disaffected with the new systems.

4. Of all the political systems, the polycentric
appeared to be the least able to increase service levels,
except for those functions that were administered by regional
special districts. Consolidated systems all exhibited higher
levels of service expenditure after their formation. More
importantly, however, they were frequently able to find new
external and internal revenue sources to finance these in-
creased outlays. Further, elimination of service duplication
was most pronounced in both the consolidated and federated
systems.

5. The degree of adequacy of service was most notice-
able in the consolidated and federated governmental models.
In both of these arrangements, many but not all areawide
services were financed on an areawide basis. Depending on
the service in question, rural or urban areas frequently re-
ceived higher levels of services after a reorganization of
government. On the other hand, wide variations in the levels
of service provided by polycentric systems continued to be
predominant. Both federated and consolidated governmental
systems, however, still experienced some demands for service
decentralization.

6. Service equity was rarely achieved in polycentric
systems; in the federated and consolidated governance schemes,
fiscal equity was often, but not always, achieved. In fact,
in some of the latter systems, ACIR reported that service
redistribution became the dominant theme of public goods
provision.

In summary, the preceding discussion of the pros and
cons of three models of metropolitan government for dealing
with the problems of the assignment of functions and the
formulation of metropolitan policies reveals that, at least
in terms of the authority, efficiency, equity, and accounta-
bility criteria, comprehensive reforms involving general
purpose local governments appear to offer the most promising
approach. Federation and consolidation all score well on
the accountability, equity, and authority measures and mod-
erately well on efficiency. In comparison, the polycentric
approaches fare well on both authority and efficiency but
poorly on equity and accountability..

At the same time, however, it is clear that while major
structural reforms may be the most desirable, they are also
the most difficult to achieve, especially on a nationwide
scale. As was pointed out, the applicability of some of
these strategies is limited. Consolidations, for example,
appear to be most appropriate for small and medium-sized

metropolitan areas. On the other hand, the most fertile ground for federation is an urban or rural area having a weak county government and few special districts. None of these institutional alternatives can readily cross State lines. In short, no one local strategy appears to be viable across the country.

Local official opposition, voter apathy and ignorance, and State constitutional and statutory restrictions have hampered most efforts to restructure and consequently re-direct local governmental systems. As a result, the pro-duction and delivery of areawide services have been met largely through a patchwork arrangement designed to respond to problems crossing jurisdictional boundaries through pro-cedural adaptations and the creation of new mechanisms with-out seriously disrupting the local government institutional and political status quo. However, from the evidence pre-sented herein, (what little there was to document), the tensions and problems in the present pattern concerning the assignment of functions are not being remedied by these piecemeal approaches. Further, the evidence indicates that perhaps the choice of a hybrid form of areawide governance is more palatable than the major reforms of federation and consolidation. Unfortunately, less than conclusive data exists that could suggest what form this hybrid arrangement would take. In the meantime, the problems continue and the matter of choice becomes more confounded.

Concluding Observations and Recommendations

The foregoing examination of some theoretical and em-pirical perspectives are regards the restructuring of metro-politan local governments still leaves unsettled the question of the prospects for widespread action in that direction. Clearly, however, existing local government arrangements, which have been patched and repatched in piecemeal fashion, are critically unsuited to meet the needs of our nation's

metropolitan societies. Whether in ways suggested by the
Committee for Economic Development, the Advisory Commission
on Intergovernmental Relations or through other approaches,
effective steps toward the reordering of existing arrange-
ments so as to achieve more effective, equitable, and res-
ponsible institutions that can govern our metropolises are
urgently needed.

Related to the need for action as regards metropolitan
reform are the issues and problems associated with the
present, piecemeal system of functional assignment. The
present functional assignment system reflects little con-
sistency as to the proper servicing roles of State, area-
wide, or local governments. The structural and procedural
deficiencies of most State-local governmental systems pre-
vent a wholesale sorting out of functional responsibilities
among different levels and units of government. This, in
turn, has created an assignment system that is continuously
centralizing or decentralizing functions without any real
thought being given to the appropriate servicing roles of
various governmental levels and units. Consequently, most
services are not delivered in as efficient, effective,
equitable, and accountable a fashion as they might be if
there were a systematic functional assignment policy.

The use of functional assignment criteria, such as those
previously discussed, would offer a normative guide for a
more effective allocation of service responsibilities among
State, areawide, and local jurisdictions. Further, as indi-
cated in the previous analysis, these criteria are partially
reflected in the polycentric, consolidated, and two-tier
governmental arrangements that exist in substate areas. Con-
siderations of economic efficiency, fiscal equity, political
accountability, and administrative effectiveness continue
to be prominent issues in various functional assignment
debates. This research has identified that a systematic
assignment process involving Federal, State, and local gov-

ernment is needed. Such a policy would permit a more reasoned and manageable apportionment of service responsibilities among all levels and forms of governments.

As previously described in Chapters II and III, the profession of planning has been centrally involved with the many efforts to reform the process of governance in metropolitan areas. Yet, the theory and methodologies of planning are in need of an overhaul. The traditional comprehensive planning process is too narrow in scope, too end-state and plan-making oriented, too divorced from the political process of decision-making, and too concerned with the intricacies of quantitative problem solving than with the rigors of policy formulation and analysis which are major determinants in the planning for and guidance of metropolitan change. In essence, the contention that planning is ineffective because it lacks an adequate areawide institutional basis is largely fallacious. This research has demonstrated that the improvement of planning performance on both a local and regional scale requires more changes than just those associated with governmental reorganization. It requires conscious efforts to integrate planning with decision making, and to rethink the theory and practice of planning, in addition to continuing past efforts and present attempts at reforming the nature and types of metropolitan government.

To this end, a normative framework of metropolitan planning has been proposed. Its basis lies in the integration of an improved planning process with the political stages of policy analysis, policies planning, and planning policy implementation. Its contributions would be the improvement of citizen participation in planning, the involvement of public officials in the planning process, improved coordination between and among the increasing number and variety of governmental planning programs, the lending of consistency to development decisions, and improvement of the relationship between plans and land management.

Five elements comprise the basic structure of normative
metropolitan planning. As previously explained, these
elements are intertwined in a manner that precludes planners
from continuing an isolationist view from politics despite
the long heritage of their conventional roles and respon-
sibilities. These five elements — research and policy ana-
lysis, policies planning, general plan-making, metropolitan
development plan-making, and metropolitan planning policy
implementation — will require expanded and new approaches
to the art of metropolitan planning. Further, the roles
of planning education will need to be broadened and perhaps
be in need of a complete realignment since many of the skills,
knowledge, and techniques implicit with the recommended
normative approach are nonexistant in the curricula of plan-
ning schools. In short, the challenges to the profession of
planning for the 1980's will require a rethinking and maybe
a reorientation of traditional values and beliefs as regards
its roles and responsibilities. But if challenge is not a
standard component of the planner's job, then someone should
rewrite the position specifications.

To adequately carry out each element in the normative
approach to metropolitan planning would require a general-
purpose areawide government that contains within its struc-
ture a metropolitan planning agency and supportive staff.
This research has identified, however, that the debate,
much less the decision making, with regard to a form of
areawide governance for our nation's metropolises is still
in its infancy. It will take years, perhaps generations
before the issues and problems with government reform are
ameliorated to the liking of the debators. Yet, metropoli-
tanization continues and with it the precipitant problems
of imbalance between public needs and the adequate production
and delivery of goods to service those needs.

To combat this dilemma, this report recommends the immediate
creation of Metropolitan Planning and Development Authorities

(MPDAs) in accordance to the procedures outlined pre-
viously in this research. These MPDAs are viewed as a
necessary interim measure that would eventually serve as the
forum for the adoption of general-purpose areawide govern-
ments. They are not intended to be substitutes, however,
for broadly based metropolitan governments which are needed
to permit, in accordance with the dictates of our democratic
political system, the integration of all urban services into
an efficient, equitable, accountable, and effective system
of service allocations.

Additionally, the debate on what forms of metropolitan
governance are needed should be continued, but more in line
with those recommendations posed by this report as well as
the recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Inter-
governmental Relations contained in Appendix A. To that
list, this report would only hasten to add the need for mech-
anisms such as the MPDA to afford metropolises with the
capability to speak to state legislatures with one voice in
spurring them to the completion of their responsibilities
as regards the immediacy of metropolitan reform.

Because MPDAs would be charged with the responsibilities
of planning and managing for those problems, issues, and
participants involved with the development of a metropolis,
this report recommends that these Authorities adopt, upon
their creation, the normative framework proposed herein as
their conceptual and operational basis for metropolitan plan-
ning. By so doing, the MPDAs would be centrally involved
with the political processes of metropolitan decision making
and policies formulation and implementation. By adhering
to the normative metropolitan planning framework, MPDAs
would broaden the scope of their planning responsibilities
and as such would find themselves in a better position to
analyze the implications of proposed policies and their
accompanying actions on the social, economic, and physical
development schemes deemed necessary by both the politicians
and planners. In essence, normative metropolitan planning

is properly the responsibility of the MPDA and would result
in a political interaction view of policies planning that
would define the MPDAs role to be that of a central authority
charged with the formulation of strategies, plans, and poli-
cies for the improved management of metropolitan change.

In summary, then, this report has surfaced and analyzed
several points critical to the improvement of metropolitan
governance and its related activities of planning and func-
tional assignment procedures. In capsule, the highlights
of the findings of this research, based on a careful examina-
tion of a preponderance of evidence, are as follows:

1. Traditional comprehensive planning is unsuited for
the proper management of urban change. The resolution of
metropolitan planning issues into planning policies is a
politically-charged and conflict-laden endeavor involving
highly fragmented and multinucleated structures of semi-
independent groups and organizations composed from both the
private and public sectors of metropolis.

2. To correct for the many problems associated with
the conventional planning approach, a normative framework
for metropolitan planning is posited as one meaningful solu-
tion that would broaden the scope of planning in a manner
consistent with the identified roles and responsibilities
of the profession. It would enable planners and public
officials to work together in developing viable strategies
to combat the disparities of metropolitanization and
to search for more effective and systematic assignment poli-
cies that would permit a more manageable apportionment of
service responsibilities among State, areawide, and local
governments.

3. Two factors — metropolitan government reorganization
and metropolitics — were found to be determinants central
to the formulation of a normative approach to metropolitan
planning. However, both factors are inextricably related
to an even larger set of issues concerning metropolitan

reform. Unfortunately, the arguments and theoretical and
empirical dictates surrounding these issues prevents a
clear delineation of those strategies of reform that should
be pursued. As a result, the form and type of government
for a metropolitan area remains purely a matter of preference
and voter acceptance rather than a clearly established set
of guidelines and procedures. Further, even if metropolitan
areas were to adopt reorganized forms of areawide government,
the performance of conventional planning would not be materi-
ally improved; i.e., governmental reorganization is a nec-
essary but not a sufficient basis for reforming the theory
and practice of metropolitan planning.

4. In recognition of the above findings, which must
be tempered with the realities of political and professional
ideologies concerning drastic changes in the status quo,
and from the evidence gathered with regard to the immediacy
of the "metropolitan problem", it is recommended that State
legislatures (or the Federal government in the cases of
those States which procrastinate) create and legislate Met-
ropolitan Planning and Development Authorities using those
specifications regarding structure and scope of authority
as contained in Chapter V of this research.

5. It is further recommended that these Authorities
utilize the normative framework of metropolitan planning
as their conceptual and operational basis. These two
strategies when linked together in the manner described
herein would afford students, planners, political scientists,
and administrators with additional time to debate and re-
examine the issues of a national strategy for metropolitan
reform.

6. This report finally recommends that any future
considerations regarding either metropolitan government re-
form or functional assignment policies and procedures be
in support of or directly related to those recommendations
of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

as documented in their recent report on <u>Substate Regionalism</u> <u>and the Federal System</u> and contained in this report. (See Appendices A and C). Their findings are fully supported herein and are indicative of the type of revitalized and broadened perspective needed to begin anew the reexamination of metropolitan reform.

Lastly, this research has pinpointed two additional avenues of future investigation as regards the subject matter of governmental reorganization schemes, functional assignment procedures, and improved approaches to the art of metropolitan planning. The first concerns the need for a more adequate data base of quantitative information on the actual performance of newly created governmental reorganization schemes and corresponding strategies of functional assignment in relation to those institutional arrangements which they replaced. Perhaps this report and the many others referred to herein would have been more willing to take a stand on the question of which intergovernmental strategy best accommodates the issues central to the realignment of local governments in metropolitan areas and systematically reapportions the service responsibilities of State, area-wide, and local governments, if more and better empirical evidence were available for an exhaustive analysis. Unfortunately, the present lack of this information precludes any pragmatic research into strategy selection and may even be preventing analysts from obtaining a clear view of all the parameters involved in the search for reform programs. Until this situation is remedied, it can be expected that most comprehensive efforts to reshape our metropolitan institutions will be confined to extensions of theoretical dictates rather than to practical solutions of a perpetuating problem.

The second avenue for future research concerns the organizational intricacies of adopted areawide governance mechanisms. Very little has been written by the reformers

on what the proper line and staff relationships would be in, for example, a federated system of government. While this report cannot speak with authority on the matter, it is suspected on the basis of the research included here and several conversations with professionals working in these new environments, that the transformation of systems of governance does not imply a direct transition of roles and responsibilities as regards the expanded scope and duties of these newly formed institutions. In essence, research is needed to clarify the proper relationships between re-shaped structures of government and the organizational parameters that define how efficiently and effectively these structures will operate on a daily basis.

Ultimately, men, not governmental machinery, will determine the fate of our metropolises. Leadership, fore-sight, technical and political skill, inventiveness, and a commitment to change are the prerequisites of fashioning an urban environment that is to be satisfactory to its inhabitants and conducive to economic and social growth. A normative perspective on metropolitics and regional plan-ning, then, must necessarily be concerned with improving our understanding of how governmental machinery can maximize opportunities for these human attributes to flourish.

Notes

1. See for example, John Friedmann, Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973), pp. 49-84; International City Managers' Association (ICMA), Principles and Prac-tice of Urban Planning (Washington: The Association, 1968), pp. 349-377; and Thomas Dames, The Urban Plan-ning Process (W. Lafayette, Ind: Joint Highway Re-Search Program, 1972), pp. 38-50.

2. International City Management Association (ICMA), Managing The Modern City (Washington: The Association, 1971), pp. 238-253.

3. Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City: The Nature and the Future of Our Urban Crisis (Boston: Little & Brown, 1970), pp. 34-156, passim.

4. For precious cites referring to this assessment see the Notes section of Chapter III, nn. 139, 142, 144.

5. Dennis Rondinelli, "Urban Planning As Policy Analysis: Management of Urban Change", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 39, no. 1 (January 1973), pp. 13-22; and Stefania Denbow and Thomas Nutt, "Research Report: The Current State of Planning Education", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 39, no. 3 (May 1973), pp. 203-209.

6. Charles Perin, "The Noiseless Secession from the Comprehensive Plan", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 33, no. 5 (September 1967), pp. 336-346.

7. Richard Bolan, "Emerging Views of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 33, no. 4 (July 1967), p. 233-245.

8. Herbert Gans, "From Urbanism to Policy Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 36, no. 4 (July 1970), pp. 223-226.

9. John Friedmann, "Notes on Societal Action", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 35, no. 5 (September 1969), pp. 311-318.

10. Richard Bolan, "Community Decision Behavior: The Culture of Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 35, no. 5 (September 1969), pp. 301-310.

11. Alan Altshuler, "Decision-Making and the Trend Toward Pluralistic Planning", in Urban Planning in Transition, ed. E. Erber (New York: Grossman Publ. Co., Inc., 1970), pp. 183-186.

12. For example, see Frederick Aschman, "The Policy Plan in the Planning Program", Planning 1963 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1963), pp. 105-111; Martin Meyerson, "Building the Middle Range Bridge for Comprehensive Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 22, no. 2 (Spring 1956), pp. 58-64; and F. Stuart Chapin, "Taking Stock of Techniques for Shaping Urban Growth", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 29, no. 2 (May 1963), pp. 213-222. The list could be expanded considerably, for there are many examples of articles and planning documents which have adopted the phrase, policies planning.

13. One interesting divergence is contained in Friedmann, Retracking America, pp. 171-193.

14. F. Stuart Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 349.

15. Anthony J. Catanese, Scientific Methods of Urban Analysis (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 6-7.

16. Edward Banfield, Political Influence (New York: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 10-32; and R. Bauer and K. Gergen, The Study of Policy Formation (New York; The Free Press, 1968), pp. 134-143.

17. Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 17-38.

18. Dennis Rondinelli, "Adjunctive Planning and Urban Development Policy," Urban Affairs Quarterly, vol. 7 (September 1971), pp. 13-19.

19. The history of the Model Cities program, and antipoverty legislation as contained in J. C. Donovan, The Politics of Poverty (New York: Western Publ. Co., 1967) when read with the history of the Appalachian Regional Development program and the Federal Highway assistance programs found in M. Levin and N. Abend, Bureaucrats in Collision: Case Studies in Area Transportation (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1971) and T. A. Morehouse, "The 1962 Highway Act: A Study in Artful Interpretation", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 35, no. 3 (May 1969), pp. 160-168, document the complex interaction of groups at all stages of policy formulation.

20. Morton Grodzins, The American System (Chicago: Rand McNally Publ. Co., Inc., 1966), passim.

21. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Regional Decision Making: New Strategies for Substate Districts, vol. I, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 4-15. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, Regional Decision Making.)

22. Rondinelli, "Urban Change", p. 16.

23. Thirty years were required to recognize publicly the failure of New Deal social welfare policies. See Rondinelli, "Adjunctive Planning", pp. 23-25.

24. Yehezkel Dror, _Public Policymaking Reexamined_ (San Francisco: Chandler Publ. Co., 1968), pp. 45-73.

25. Ruth P. Mack, _Planning On Uncertainty_ (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1971), pp. 6-15.

26. Ibid., pp. 86-95.

27. A favorite tactic of congressional committee members themselves is to invite policy analysts and experts who will present evidence favorable to their own predisposition toward a policy proposal.

28. Gans, "Policy Planning", p. 223.

29. Acceptance of one alternative — optimal to one set of interests — need not result in the rejection of others. Mutual adjustments result in creation of new courses of action from combinations of existing alternatives. P. Diesing, "Noneconomic Decision-Making", _Ethics_, vol. 46 (October 1955), pp. 18-35.

30. Lawrence Mann, "Studies in Community Decision-Making", _Journal of the American Institute of Planners_, vol. 30, no. 1 (February 1964), pp. 13-23.

31. Herbert Simon, _Administrative Behavior_ (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 134-152.

32. David Braybrooke and Charles Lindblom, _A Strategy of Decision: Policy Evaluation as a Social Process_ (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 45-48.

33. Supra, n. 19, p. 166.

34. Levin and Abend, _Bureaucrats_, pp. 303-318.

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36. Melville C. Branch, _Planning: Aspects and Applications_ (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 3-18.

37. John W. Reps, _The Making of Urban America, A History of City Planning in the United States_ (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 224-276.

38. Melvin Webber, "The Roles of Intelligence Systems in Urban-Systems Planning", _Journal of the American Institute of Planners_, vol. 31, no. 4 (November 1965), p. 291.

39. Dames, <u>Planning Process</u>, pp. 40-43.

40. Charles C. Schimpeler,"A Decision-Theoretic Approach
    To Weighting Community Development Criteria and
    Evaluating Alternative Plans", an unpublished Ph.D.
    Thesis, Purdue University, August 1967, pp. 12-28.

41. Dames, <u>Planning Process</u>, p. 65.

42. Urban Land Institute, <u>The Community Builders Handbook</u>
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    262.

43. Henry Fagin, "Planning For Future Urban Growth, " <u>Law
    and Contemporary Problems</u>, vol. 30 (Winter 1965), pp.
    12-14; and Kevin Lynch, <u>The Image of the City</u> (Cam-
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    sity Press, 1960), pp. 91-139.

44. Bolan, "Culture of Planning", pp. 307-309; Terry Clark,
    <u>Community Structure and Decision Making</u>, (San Francisco:
    Chandler Publ. Co., 1968), pp. 222-234; and Wilbur
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    Analytical Response", Highway Research Board <u>Special
    Report 77</u> (Washington: The Board, 1968), pp. 43-75.

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49. David C. Ranney, <u>Planning and Politics in the Metropolis</u>
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    pp. 19-43.

50. Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning",
    <u>Journal of the American Institute of Planners</u>, vol. 31,
    no. 4 (November 1965), pp. 331-337; Paul Davidoff and
    Thomas Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning", <u>Journal
    of the American Institute of Planners</u>, vol. 28, no. 2

(May 1962), pp. 103-115; John Friedmann, "Planning as
a Vocation", PLAN, The Canadian Journal of Planning,
Part I, in vol. 6, no. 3 (April 1966), pp. 99-124,
and Part II in vol. 7, no. 1 (July 1966), pp. 8-25;
Melvin Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Res-
ponsibility: Toward an AIP Consensus on the Profession's
Roles and Purposes", Journal of the American Institute
of Planners, vol. 29, no. 4 (November 1963), pp. 232-
241; Paul Davidoff, "Normative Planning", in Planning
For Diversity and Choice, ed. Standford Anderson (Cam-
bridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1968), pp. 132-171;
and, supra nn. 1, 7, 18.

51. ICMA, Principles and Practice, pp. 564-582.

52. Davidoff, "Normative Planning", p. 134.

53. The basis of this statement rests within the material
    as presented in Chapter II. Chapter IV presents some
    hypotheses regarding the continued ineffectiveness of
    planning.

54. This paragraph essentially summarizes the findings of
    Chapter IV as regards the meshing of planning, values
    and conflict within a metropolitan setting.

55. Henry Fagin, "Planning Organization and Activities With-
    in the Framework of Urban Government", in Planning and
    the Urban Community, ed. Harvey Perloff (Pittsburgh:
    University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), p. 111.

56. The components (perhaps it would be better to refer to
    them as functions) will be related to these activities
    in the section titled "Elements of a Normative Frame-
    work".

57. The Comprehensive Plan and official map is usually
    submitted to the governing body of the municipality
    which customarily holds a public hearing, after which
    the plan is adopted in whole or in part, sometimes with
    modifications based on the hearing. Copies of the
    official map are then placed not only in the city coun-
    cil records, but in the appropriate office where deeds
    and similar public property records are maintained.
    The ordinance or other instrument of adoption generally
    prohibits any development within the areas defined in
    the official map until notice has been served on the
    city. For a good discussion concerning the arguments
    for and against the adoption of a plan document, see
    Alan Altshuler, The City Planning Process: A Political
    Analysis (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), pp.
    285-296.

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58. Rondinelli, "Urban Change", p. 19.

59. Rondinelli, "Urban Development Policy", p. 38.

60. Recent writings in the planning literature cover a
    wealth of information as regards the most recent
    thinkings within the profession on the subject of citi-
    zen participation in the planning process. See, for
    example, John Friedmann, "The Public Interest and Com-
    munity Participation: Toward a Reconstruction of Public
    Philosophy", Journal of the American Institute of Plan-
    ners, vol. 39, no. 1 (January 1973), pp. 2-12; Sheldon
    Plager, "Judicial Review: Policy, Planning, and The
    Courts", Journal of the American Institute of Planners,
    vol. 37, no. 3 (May 1971), pp. 174-191; Donald Hagman,
    "The Greater London Development Plan Inquiry", Journal
    of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 37, no. 5
    (September 1971), pp. 290-296; and Shirley Passow,
    "Stockholm's Planners Discover 'People Power'", Journal
    of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 39, no. 1
    (January 1973), pp. 23-34.

61. Kenneth Clark and Jeanette Hopkins, A Relevant War
    Against Poverty (New York: Harper & Row Publ., Inc.,
    1968), pp. 71-90.

62. Anthony Downs, "Getting People Into the Act", Planning,
    vol. 41, no. 1 (January 1975), pp. 12-14.

63. Warren Jones, "Why Planning Commissions Need a Shot
    In the Arm", Planning, vol. 40, no. 7 (August 1974),
    pp. 19-21.

64. John Parker, "Decisions, Data Needs, and Rationality",
    Threshold of Planning Information Systems (Chicago:
    American Society of Planning Officials, 1967), pp. 34-
    39; and International City Management Association and
    U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development,
    Applying Systems Analysis in Urban Government: Three
    Case Studies, Report prepared by ICMA for HUD (Washing-
    ton: The Association, 1972), pp. 1-8.

65. Barrie Greenbie, "Social Territory, Community Health
    and Urban Planning", Journal of the American Institute
    of Planners, vol. 40, no. 2 (March 1974), pp. 74-82.

66. Webber, "Urban-Systems Planning", p. 289; and, Steven
    Lipner, "Requirements for the Development of Computer
    Based Urban Information Systems", in An Introduction
    to Computer Systems, ed. Edward Joslin (Arlington, VA:
    College Readings, Inc., 1969), pp. 133-142.

67. ICMA, Principles and Practice, pp. 334-336.

68. John Costonis, "Whichever Way You Slice It, DRT Is
     Here To Stay", Planning, vol. 40, no. 6 (July 1974),
     pp. 10-15.

69. Charles Lindblom, The Intelligence of Democracy (New
     York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1965), pp. 132-141.

70. William Wheaton, "Public and Private Agents of Change
     in Urban Expansion", in Explorations Into Urban Struc-
     ture, ed. Melvin Webber, et. al. (Philadelphia· Uni-
     versity of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 189.

71. Scott Greer, "The Metropolity and Its Future," in
     Exploring Urban Problems, ed. Melvin Levin (Boston:
     The Urban Press, Inc., 1971), pp. 575-589.

72. Perhaps the most important value to be derived from
     viewing policies in this manner is that it helps to
     illustrate the danger of adopting policies out of se-
     quence. If the lower levels are adopted first, and
     many times they are in response to the immediacy of
     a problem, there is no opportunity to consider properly
     all the higher levels of policy. For example, if one
     decides to take a trip by train he immediately limits
     his choice of usable alternative routes and, conse-
     quently, his choice of destinations.

73. Adapted by the author from a more complete set of
     policies contained in, The New York City Planning Com-
     mission, Plan For New York City, (New York: The Com-
     mission, 1969), passim.

74. See, for example, Charles Haar,."The Content of the
     General Plan: A Glance at History", Journal of the
     American Institute of Planners, vol. 21 (Spring/Summer
     1955), pp. 66-70; Robert Hoover, "On Master Plans and
     Constitutions", Journal of the American Institute of
     Planners, vol. 26, no. 1 (February 1960), pp. 5-24;
     T. J. Kent, The Urban General Plan (San Francisco:
     The Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 27-184; and
     Alan Black, "The Comprehensive Plan" in Principles and
     Practice of Urban Planning, eds. William Goodman and
     Eric Freund (Washington: International City Managers'
     Association, 1968), pp. 349-377.

75. Table V-2 is modified from the concept in Kent, The
     Urban General Plan, pp. 92-93.

76. American Institute of Planners, Report of the Planning-
     Policy Committee on Financing the Plan (Washington:

The Institute, 1963); and Edmund Bacon, "Capital Programming and Public Policy," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 22, no. 1 (Winter 1956), pp. 35-38.

77. Friedmann, "Societal Action," p. 312.

78. Bolan, "Emerging Views," p. 235; and Frank S. So, "Metropolitan Planning Policy Implementation," Planning Advisory Service Report 262 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1970), pp. 3-4.

79. Each of the seven categories of persuasive strategies are described in detail in the following works. Each work cited refers to the strategy in the order in which they are both listed respectively: So, "Policy Implementation," pp. 4-5; ICMA, Managing the Modern City, pp. 312-316; Webber, "Urban-Systems Planning," pp. 292-295; Annmarie Walsh, The Urban Challenge to Government (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1969), pp. 58-61; Charles Haar, "Budgeting for Metropolitan Development: A Step Toward Creative Federalism," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 34, no. 2 (March 1968), pp. 102-104; Braybrooke and Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision, pp. 45-48; and Melvin Levin, "Planners and Metropolitan Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 33, no. 2 (March 1967), pp. 78-90.

80. American Society of Planning Officials, "Increasing State and Regional Power in the Development Process," Planning Advisory Service Report 255 (Chicago: The Society, 1970), pp. 1-35.

81. So, "Policy Implementation," pp. 11-16; and American Society of Planning Officials, New Directions in Connecticut Planning Legislation (Chicago: The Society, 1967), pp. 143-161.

82. Metropolitan Council of the Twin Cities Area, Referral Manual (St. Paul, Minn.: The Council, 1968), pp. 18-23.

83. U.S., Congress, Joint Economic Committee, Regional Planning Issues, Part 2, paper prepared for the Subcommittee on Urban Affairs, by Ted Kolderie, 92nd Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 245-249.

84. U.S., Congress, Senate, Toward a National Growth Policy: Federal and State Developments in 1972, prepared by the Congressional Research Service for the Library of Congress (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 85-104.

85. International City Management Association (ICMA),
    Municipal Yearbook, 1974, eds. Richard Hofrichter and
    Emily Evershed (Washington: The Association, 1974),
    p. 13.

86. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
    (ACIR), 13th Annual Report. Federalism in 1971: The
    Crisis Continues (Washington: U.S. Government Printing
    Office, 1972), p. 19.

87. For a discussion of this point, see Steven Erie, John
    Kirlin, and Francine Rabinovitz, "Can Something be Done?
    Propositions on the Performance of Metropolitan
    Institutions," in Reform of Metropolitan Governments,
    ed. Lowdon Wingo (Washington: Resources for the Future,
    1972), pp. 33-35.

88. For a formal treatment of this question, see Paul
    Ylvisaker, "Some Criteria for a Proper Areal Division
    of Governmental Powers," in Area and Power, ed. Arthur
    Maas (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1969),
    pp. 28-37.

89. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations,
    Governmental Functions and Processes: Local and Area-
    wide, vol. IV, Substate Regionalism and the Federal
    System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office,
    1974), pp. 80-81. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR,
    Governmental Functions.)

90. Ylvisaker, "Some Criteria," p. 32.

91. See Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
    (ACIR), Public Opinion and Taxes (Washington: U.S.
    Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 5-7.

92. Council on Environmental Quality, The Quiet Revolution
    in Land Use Control (Washington: U.S. Government
    Printing Office, 1971), pp. 15-32.

93. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR),
    Special Revenue Sharing: An Analysis of the Administra-
    tion's Grant Consolidation Proposals (Washington: U.S.
    Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 18.

94. ACIR, Governmental Functions, p. 108.

95. Rufus Davis, "The Federal Principle Reconsidered", in
    American Federalism in Perspective, ed. Aaron Wildavsky
    (Boston: Little-Brown and Co., 1970), p. 7.

96. This usually occurs in a legal context between State and Federal governments and in operational form between State and local governments and Federal and local governments.

97. See, for example Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), <u>Performance of Urban Functions: Local and Areawide</u> (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 6-115, passim; and ACIR, <u>Governmental Functions</u>, pp. 2-11.

98. ACIR, <u>Governmental Functions</u>, pp. 98-99.

99. Ibid., p. 8.

100. This discussion of alternative governmental structures borrows heavily from the research done by ACIR. For more detailed and complete documentation on the subject, see Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, <u>The Challenge of Local Governmental Reorganization</u>, vol. III, <u>Substate Regionalism and the Federal System</u> (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 127-143. (Hereafter referred to as ACIR, <u>The Challenge</u>.)

101. Robert Bish, <u>The Public Economy of Metropolitan Areas</u> (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 35-62; Vincent Ostrom, et. al., "The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry," <u>American Political Science Review</u>, vol. LV, no. 4 (December 1961), pp. 831-842; and Robert Warren, "A Municipal Services Market Model of Metropolitan Organization," <u>Journal of the American Institute of Planners</u>, vol. 30, no. 3 (August 1964), pp. 193-204.

102. ACIR, <u>Governmental Functions</u>, p. 110.

103. Charles Tiebout, "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures," <u>Journal of Political Economy</u>, vol. LXIV, no. 5 (October 1956), pp. 416-424.

104. ACIR, <u>Performance of Urban Functions</u>, p. 49.

105. Ostrom, et. al., "Theoretical Inquiry," p. 839.

106. Ibid., pp. 839-840.

107. ACIR, <u>Governmental Functions</u>, p. 113.

108. Luther Gulick, <u>The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas</u> (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1962), p. 24.

109. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

110. Committee for Economic Development (CED), Modernizing Local Government (New York: The Committee, 1966), pp. 11-13.

111. Victor Jones, Metropolitan Government (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), Chapter VIII.

112. Jones, Metropolitan Government, pp. 49-60; and Gulick, American Ideas, p. 123.

113. Federation is not used in the classical sense in this discussion; hence, the discussion encompasses a treatment of those metropolitan governance schemes which involve two tiers (areawide and local) of general-purpose government, not just those where the lower tier is represented in the upper tier. See, Committee for Economic Development (CED), Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas (New York: The Committee, 1970); ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 95-109; and Robert Wood, Metropolis Against Itself (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1959), pp. 33-79.

114. ACIR, Governmental Functions, p. 110.

115. Wood, Metropolis, p. 39.

116. CED, Reshaping Government, p. 50; and Lance Liebman, "Metropolitanism and Decentralization," in Reform of Metropolitan Governments, ed. Lowdon Wingo (Washington: Resources for the Future, 1972), p. 50.

117. CED, Reshaping Government, p. 44.

118. ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 106-107.

119. For documentation of empirical research on polycentric systems, see Roscoe Martin, et. al., Decisions in Syracuse (New York: Doubleday-Anchor Books, 1965); Robert Warren, Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Reappraisal of Fractionated Political Organization (Davis, California: Institute of Governmental Affairs, 1966); H. Paul Freisma, Metropolitan Political Structure (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1971); and Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), Regional Governance: Promise and Performance, vol. II, Substate Regionalism and the Federal System (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 75-110. For documentation of empirical research on consolidated systems, see ACIR, Promise and Performance, pp. 17-36, 47-72; Daniel Grant, "A Comparison of Predictions and Experience with Nashville 'Metro'", Urban Affairs Quarterly, vol. I (September 1965), pp. 34-54; and

Economic Research Service, Impact of City-County Consolidation on the Rural-Urban Fringe: - Nashville Davidson, Tennessee (Washington: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1971). For documentation of empirical research on federated systems, see ACIR, Promise and Performance, pp. 6-16, 113-139; Melvin Mogulof, Five Metropolitan Governments (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1972); Edward Sofen, The Miami Metropolitan Experiment (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963); Harold Kaplan, Urban Political Systems: A Functional Analysis of Metro Toronto (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); and Albert Rose, Governing Metropolitan Toronto: A Social and Political Analysis, 1953-1971 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

120. ACIR, The Challenge, pp. 29-51, 81-106; and ACIR, Governmental Functions, pp. 31-50, 107-115.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS TO DEVISE STRATEGIES
FOR LOCAL AND AREAWIDE GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

RECOMMENDATIONS

With the following recommendations, the Commission seeks to chart a sensible course toward local and areawide governmental reorganization in light of the continuing intergovernmental challenge at the substate regional level. The focus here is chiefly on the States and localities, given the former's prime constitutional role and responsibilities *vis-a-vis* local governments and the latter's vital concern with actions that are taken on this front. The Federal government's assignment is largely a complementary one.

Over the past dozen years in eight different reports, this Commission has urged State adoption of more than 25 separate non-fiscal recommendations relating to the strengthening and restructuring of the nation's counties and cities. The proposals advanced here build on this foundation.

In urging this agenda for reform, the Commission is fully cognizant of the wide variations in local governmental forms, functions, and finances within and among the States. The Commission also recognizes that no single reform option could possibly apply to all substate regions and all local governments, that effective umbrella multi-jurisdictional organizations may be the most suitable and feasible option in many instances, that local reorganization efforts may be as crucial as areawide ones, that the timing of implementation of reform options will vary, and that no across-the-board formula can or should be devised to cover all the ways the States can assume a positive role in this vital process. Hence, this agenda incorporates considerable flexibility while providing a clear direction and consistent basic purposes. Specific proposals will require State-by-State adaptations. But the prime goal of a more responsive system of local and areawide governance should not be lost sight of in this adaptive process.

THE STATE ROLE

The Commission concludes that the time has come for all States to adopt a comprehensive, long range policy with respect to the structure and functions of their local governments and the relationships of such governments to one another, the State, and official umbrella multi-jurisdictional organizations established pursuant to substate districting statutes. It notes that existing State policies in this pivotal area for the most part have been piecemeal, partial, and out-dated. It finds that continuing urbanization and technological change have strained the capacity of most local governments within substate regions to effectively plan, administer, and finance needed public services.

At this point then, the Commission believes that the States in conjunction with their localities must devise a strategy designed to help local governments meet the structural, functional, and fiscal challenges of substate regionalism. This policy should be developed in a systematic, comprehensive fashion, considering distinctive State, non-metropolitan, and metropolitan jurisdictional problems. Hence...

The Commission recommends that States through statutory, and where necessary, constitutional action adopt a comprehensive local government structure and functions policy involving immediate goals as well as an on-going process for their implementation and updating. This policy should be geared (a) to structuring the system of local governments so as to make it more responsive and adaptable to the areawide as well as local needs of individual communities, (b) to interrelating substate regional districting and related activities with local governmental reform efforts, and (c) to striking a balance between State initiative and local as well as areawide self-determination in achieving the above two goals.

The Commission recommends that, at a minimum, such State legislation and, where necessary, constitutional enactments should...

A. Set specific standards for—

(1) assessing the structural, functional, fiscal, and geographic viability of all existing and proposed local governments—special districts and school districts as well as units of general government—using such factors as (a) their capacity to raise revenues adequately and equitably, (b) their mix of residential, industrial or other tax base components, (c) their population and geographic size, and socio-economic and racial composition, and (d) the assignment of areawide and local governmental functions, including components thereof, to appropriate and accountable units of government.

(2) governing the orderly and equitable extension of municipal boundaries to embrace unincorporated territory, including procedures for—(a) assignment of initiating authority to municipal governing bodies as well as to residents in an unincorporated area seeking to be annexed; and (b) elimination of any absolute power on the part of inhabitants of outlying unincorporated areas, which are proposed to be annexed, to veto a proposed annexation meeting statutory standards, including the provision of urban services.

B. Establish a broadly representative local government boundary commission at the State and/or local level(s). In addition to exercising those powers regulating municipal incorporations, non-viable units of general local government, special districts, and interlocal servicing agreements that were recommended in previous Commission reports, the

boundary commission(s) should be authorized to...

(1) oversee the implementation of the statutory standards, cited above, and apply them, where pertinent, to individual boundary decision cases that come before it:

(2) recommend modification of substate district boundaries, subject to action by the appropriate State authority:

(3) recommend modification of individual county boundaries in light of changing settlement and servicing patterns:

(4) monitor, recommend, and, where appropriate, facilitate municipal annexations of adjacent unincorporated areas:

(5) develop in conjunction with affected local jurisdictions, including counties, "spheres of influence" or "staged expansion limits" that delimit the ultimate boundaries of existing individual municipalities and help identify areas of potential municipal incorporation:

(6) make annual reports with recommendations to the governor and legislature on efforts to strengthen the basic pattern of local government.

C. Provide for a complete package of county structural reform options and initiatives that, in addition to an optional forms authorization, includes at a minimum:

(1) the requirement that any county embracing the predominant portion of a metropolitan area's population shall have a full-time executive officer, either appointed by the county board or popularly elected;

(2) placing county officers on a statutory rather than a constitutional basis;

*(3) empowering the governing bodies of contiguous
counties within substate regions to consolidate
identical or comparable county offices and functions;
(4) authorizing the governing bodies of contiguous
counties within substate regions to execute a
multicounty consolidation, subject to a simple con-
current majority of the votes in a referendum in
each of the counties encompassed in the proposed
merger.
D. Clarify and systematize the functional responsi-
bilities and relationships of counties and
municipalities, by establishing the county as the
basic service provider for its unincorporated areas,
in addition to performing basic county functions,
and by ...
(1) authorizing counties to perform urban functions
in order to eliminate situations where they are
barred from providing such services when (a) the
service is being provided by a countywide or less
than countywide special district, (b) a constituent
municipality requests the county to perform the
service, or (c) the public expresses through a
popular referendum a preference for the county to
perform the service on a countywide basis, and re-
quiring that such functions when undertaken in in-
corporated areas meet performance standards de-
veloped by the county and affected municipalities
and be set forth in a county ordinance;
(2) requiring that in instances where counties under-
take to perform functions already provided by their
constituent municipalities, such counties either
enhance the quality or scope of such services or
make proportionate payments to their municipalities
in lieu thereof pursuant to a joint agreement;*

*(3) delineating uniform procedures for transferring
functions between and among municipalities, counties,
and multi-county regional bodies including officially
designated umbrella multi-jurisdictional organiza-
tions; at a minimum, such procedures should (a) in-
volve the repeal of State constitutional and
statutory provisions requiring voter approval of
proposed transfers, (b) authorize revocation of a
transfer when its performance falls below standards
initially agreed to in the transfer, and (c) empower
a jointly agreed upon body to determine whether a
transferred function has not met such performance
standards.*

*E.   Strengthen the State's supportive role in the
functional assignment area by:*

*(1) requiring counties having unincorporated terri-
tory or municipalities contiguous to such areas to
develop within a specified period effective planning,
zoning, and subdivision regulations for such areas,
where such do not now exist, provided that where
such regulations have not been adopted within the
time span stipulated an appropriate State agency
would assume the responsibility; and*

*(2) establishing a program of State technical and
fiscal assistance to counties and municipalities
for (a) management feasibility studies on trans-
ferring and consolidating functions and (b) extra-
ordinary initial costs incurred in actual transfers
or consolidations.*

*F.   Permit, where the electorate by referendum
chooses, the establishment of governmental units
capable of providing areawide services. The
Commission does not necessarily recommend affirma-
tive action with respect to any of the following
options in any specific situation, but believes the*

people should have available to them a range of choices, which would include:

(1) Multi-county consolidation and assignment to it of all areawide functions and--where its geographic scope is adequate--of all umbrella multi-jurisdictional organization functions;

(2) City-county consolidation wherein all areawide and local functions are assigned to the new government and special districts are either merged with or are subordinated to it;

(3) The modernized county, possessing all of the structural, functional, and fiscal powers detailed in Components C and D, with such powers embodied in a new county charter;

(4) The possibility of converting a substate region's officially designated umbrella multi-jurisdictional organization into a general purpose government with a directly elected council or a bicameral council, one chamber popularly elected and the other composed of representatives of constituent units of general government;

(5) The right to create a regional service corporation (a) subsuming all existing and proposed areawide special districts, (b) having responsibility for certain areawide functions including, but not limited to, areawide comprehensive planning and land use, transportation, waste disposal, and water supply, which heretofore may or may not have been performed on a regional basis, and (c) with popular election of its policy body.

Such enabling legislation should require that all of the above options would involve approval in a popular referendum by simple concurrent majorities in the central city or cities and in the outlying area or areas in metropolitan areas, by a simple

concurrent majority in each of the counties in-
volved in non-metropolitan areas or districts, or
by a simple areawide majority.

Such legislation also should stipulate that such
referenda could be initiated by any of the following
within a substate region:

(1) a single or concurrent resolution of one or
more units of general local government comprising
a certain percentage of the region's population;

(2) petition of a certain percentage of the
eligible voters in the area proposed for inclusion
within a new regional unit; or

(3) direct action by the State legislature.

G.   Provide for a broadly representative, permanent
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
to be constituted with adequate staff and funding
and charged with studying and reporting on:

(1) the current pattern of local governmental
structure and substate regional organization and
their viability;

(2) the powers and functions of local governments
and substate regional bodies, including their
fiscal powers;

(3) the existing, necessary, and desirable relation-
ships between and among local governments and sub-
state regional organizations, including official
umbrella multi-jurisdictional organizations;

(4) the existing, necessary, and desirable
allocation of State-local fiscal resources;

(5) the existing, necessary, and desirable roles
of the State as the creator of the local govern-
mental and substate regional governance systems;

(6) the special problems in interstate areas facing
their general local governments, intrastate regional
units, and areawide bodies, such studies where

*possible to be conducted in conjunction with those
of a pertinent sister State commission(s); and
(7) any constitutional amendments and statutory
enactments required to implement appropriate
commission recommendations.*

*Such commission shall render separate reports on
individual topics covered under one or more of
these broad subject areas, including whatever
recommendations might be agreed upon, with specific
bills and proposed constitutional amendments, where
needed, being appended to them; in addition, it
shall submit an annual report to the governor,
legislature, local governments, substate regional
units, and the citizenry.*

This omnibus State recommendation, with its seven major
components and nearly two dozen significant subcomponents,
is designed to achieve five broad and interrelated objectives.

First, it seeks to place the full force of State
statutory authority behind a set of enforceable stan-
dards relating to new incorporations, local govern-
mental viability, and municipal annexation.

Second, it urges establishment by the States of
local governmental boundary commissions to apply these
standards in specific cases and to assume an on-going
responsibility with reference to such other matters
as the dissolution or consolidation of special districts
and non-viable general governmental units, adjustments
of county and substate regional boundaries, and
annexation developments.

Third, it provides a packet of nine reform proposals
designed to revitalize the structure of counties, to
reconcile and rationalize county and municipal
functional responsibilities, and to carve out a
supportive State role in some of these undertakings.

Fourth, it sets forth a range of five basic area-wide governmental reorganization options—each with special features and suitable for specific regional circumstances—with a variety of initiating moves provided, but popular approval required in all cases.

Finally, this multi-faceted, State-oriented recommendation calls for the formation, where lacking, of broadly representative State advisory commissions on intergovernmental relations to probe on a continuing basis the structure, functions, finances, and relation-ships of lower-tier, middle-tier, and State governments. These commissions would publish reports on specific topics, make recommendations for solving interlevel problems, and submit an annual report to their respective governors, legislatures, local and regional units, and electorates.

The Federal Role

The Commission notes that actions of the Federal government directly affect local governmental institutions and the development of effective substate regional systems. Hence, *the Commission recommends that the Executive Branch of the Federal government and the Congress adopt policies which accommodate State and local actions to reorganize governments at the substate regional and local levels.*

For a number of political, legal, and common sense reasons, the Commission believes that it is inappropriate at this time for the Federal government to assume a lead role in efforts to achieve local governmental modernization and areawide reorganization. Yet, other reasons dictate that the Federal government cannot assume a hands-off policy in this matter. Too many existing Federal programs and policies affect the pattern of local government and of substate regional governance systems. Too many federally encouraged programs and too many Federal categorical, block

grant, and revenue sharing dollars one way or another already are involved. Too many national purposes ultimately are involved to sanction such a laissez faire course.

The underlying thrust of this final recommendation is to put the Federal government into a positive accommodating role with respect to State and local efforts geared to local and areawide governmental reform. Some of the possible approaches to fleshing out this Federal role include certain changes in administrative rules, specialized research, technical assistance, and a built-in awareness of institutional changes at the State, substate, regional and local levels. All are modest. But they could begin the carving out of a Federal role in this vital intergovernmental area which is complementary, not in conflict, with State and local efforts.

APPENDIX B

A summary of a discussion on
Definitional Problems with the SMSA.
Source: John H. Baker, Urban Politics In America (New
York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 81-86, passim.

Problems With Definitions of a
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

Although the Census Bureau has provided us with a clear
and understandable, if not always simple, definition of the
metropolitan area, some of the characteristics of this
definition detract from its utility. The use of the county
as a basic definitional unit makes particularly good sense
to the federal government whose many agencies frequently use
the administrative apparatus of the county and report their
data in these terms. However, metropolitan development does
not respect arbitrarily drawn lines separating civil sub-
divisions. In most cases, the county is either too small or
too large a unit to use to define the metropolitan area.
It is too small when the area has outgrown the confines of
a single county but has not grown large enough to effect a
change in character of entire contiguous counties or to
affect the integration of these counties. It is too large
when the inclusion of all of the territory within the county
or counties of the central city or cities results in obvious
definitional absurdities. The outstanding case in point is
that of the largest geographic SMSA, San Bernardino-Riverside-
Ontario, which includes thousands of square miles of unin-
habited desert because of the unusual size of San Bernardino
and Riverside counties. It may make sense someday to talk
about the metropolitan problems of the Mojave Desert, but
that day has not yet arrived.

The minimum population figure of 50,000 for central
cities also creates problems. The metropolis of 50,000 to
75,000 is not only quantitatively but also qualitatively
different from the metropolis of eight to ten million. In
fact, the differences may be so great as to suggest that it
makes no sense whatever to refer to a free-standing city of
50,000 and its environs as a metropolis. This problem is
significant enough to lead many scholars to ignore the less-
populated SMSA's and to consider only the top hundred or so
when conducting metropolitan research.

The SMSA also tends to be a less useful definition as metropolitan areas in the more densely populated regions of the country begin to merge with one another. The data on social and economic integration tell us that when SMSA's grow this close together they probably constitute one metropolitan area rather than several. This tendency is illustrated particularly well by developments on the Northeastern seaboard, around Chicago, and in Southern California. In recognition of this problem, the Census Bureau has developed a larger unit, the Standard Consolidated Area, which it applies in order to report data for certain large clusters of SMSA's. At present, the bureau uses this unit only in the New York-Northeastern New Jersey and the Chicago-Northwestern Indiana areas. In the case of New York, even the Standard Consolidated Area appears to be too small a definitional unit to comprehend the full area of social and economic integration; and, unless the bureau alters its definitional standards, this appears likely to become a problem with respect to other larger, expanding metropolitan aggregations.

The Megalopolis. In order to meet this final problem with the SMSA as a metropolitan definition, the French geographer Jean Cottmann developed a new concept—the megalopolis. Gottmann has applied the term to the unique cluster of metropolitan areas of the Northeastern seaboard of the United States.[1] Unlike the Standard Consolidated Areas, the megalopolis includes population classed as rural but which is in close proximity to urban areas and is closely tied to the city or cities by interests and work. The megalopolis stresses the time factor as well as spatial propinquity, and this permits the inclusion of areas which are physically separated when developments in transportation and communications forge social and economic links. While this concept avoids some of the more serious conceptual pitfalls of the Census Bureau definition, it suffers somewhat from serious

limitations of its own. The criteria utilized to determine
the degree of social and economic integration within the
larger community are understandably somewhat more vague than
those used in the SMSA. In the second place, it is quite
possible that those areas still classified as rural but
within the megalopolis are no more oriented toward the cities
than are other rural areas throughout the country. Certainly
some of the political viewpoints expressed in these areas
indicate that this is the case. In spite of its limitations,
the megalopolis does emphasize the uncomfortable fact that
our urbanized areas are quite probably outgrowing our
definitional ability.

The Ecumenopolis. Although we tend to find the megalop-
olis a concept difficult enough to grasp in our attempt to
define the broader context of urbanization, particularly
visionary students of urban development have predicted even
more difficult concepts for the future. Perhaps the most
startling of these is the ecumenopolis or universal city of
the Greek planner C. A. Doxiadis. This convincing prognos-
ticator describes the ecumenopolis as a state of development
in which "all settlements...(are) interconnected into a
continuous network that will cover the entire earth."[2] The
idea depends heavily upon many of the factors which Gottmann
observed in the megalopolis and projects them to their
logical conclusion. The conclusion assumes a continued
rapid population expansion as well as the continued develop-
ment of technological advances which will permit proximity
in time rather than space to create social and economic
integration over even larger areas. If the political
problems of the interstate SMSA and the multistate megalop-
olis seem perplexing to those who attempt to deal with the
metropolitan environment of today, the problems of the
multinational ecumenopolis appear to be infinitely more
troublesome.

Another Vague Definition. What we end up with after considering many definitions of the larger urban environment is less than satisfactory. It seems little more definite for most of us than a sweep of the arm indicating "something out there." Bollens and Schmandt come close to capturing it in its most limited sense:[3]

> The metropolis, as is well recognized, does not designate a legally definable entity as a municipality or county does, although metropolitan boundaries might conceivably be coterminous with the territory of a governmental unit. When people speak of Philadelphia, Chicago, or Seattle, they often mean the sociological or economic city, the larger community that extends out beyond the legal limits of the major municipality and embraces the adjacent population and governments.

We must be content with such a broad statement, for any attempt to form a more specific definition admits to so many exceptions as to render the attempt useless.

References

1. Jean Gottmann, Megalopolis (New York, 1961), pp. 4-5.

2. C. A. Doxiadis, Urban Renewal and the Future of the American City (Chicago, 1966), p. 75.

3. John Bollens and Henry Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life (New York, 1965), p. 34.

APPENDIX C

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS TO DEVISE A MORE SYSTEMATIC
DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

FUNCTIONAL ASSIGNMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Diverse political forces at all levels of government
contribute to the ad hoc nature of service allocations at
the State-local level. Local fiscal crises, historical State
controls over local government, political traditions affect-
ing the structure and powers of State government, and
national program initiatives are but a few of the political
influences that now produce an unduly divergent pattern of
State-regional-local functional assignments. A more
systematic and ordered distribution of functional responsi-
bilities between and among these levels and units of
government would produce more manageable and effective
service delivery systems in almost any substate region.

Federal, State and local governments all must bear some
share of the responsibility for reordering service responsi-
bilities. Consequently, the Commission makes the following
recommendations;

RECOMMENDATION 1: STATE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF AN ASSIGNMENT OF FUNCTIONS POLICY AND PROCESS

The Commission finds that certain governmental functions
and component activities are most appropriately performed on
a statewide basis, others as areawide responsibilities, still
others as local duties and some as shared tasks of both
levels of government. Yet present functional assignment
patterns are often haphazardly determined on the basis of
fiscal pressures on State or local government, the historical
and legal status of different types of local governments,
and numerous Federal and State program initiatives, all of
which often result in inappropriate and conflicting patterns
of functional assignment among State, regional, and local
governments. The Commission therefore recognizes the need
for more consistent and logical assignment of responsibilities.
The Commission is convinced that a State Advisory Commission

on Intergovernmental Relations or some other suitable State-
local instrumentality should be charged with the responsi-
bility of reassessing continually the allocation of functional
assignments in the State-local service delivery system. The
Commission, however, realizes that there is no single
appropriate formula for the allocation of functions among all
State, areawide, and local units given the diverse geographic,
cultural, social, economic, and political conditions that
exist in the country. In light of these findings...

*The Commission recommends that States enact legislation
which establishes an on-going assignment of functions policy
and process which will result in a more reasoned and
systematic assignment of functions between and among State,
local and areawide units of government. Such legislation
should, at a minimum, authorize the State Advisory Commission
on Intergovernmental Relations or a similar agency, when no
such commission exists, to:*

*A. formulate general criteria for assigning new public
services and reassigning established or expanded ones,
taking into account the desirability of reconciling economic
efficiency, fiscal equity, political accountability, and
administrative effectiveness in the provision of a public
service.*

*B. develop on a case-by-case basis specific functional
classification standards based on the above criteria for
determining the State, areawide or local nature of a function
or components thereof, with emphasis on (1) local assignment
of functions and activities that have a minimal impact on
neighboring jurisdictions or would benefit from service
competition, or do not require uniform levels of service, or
do require a high degree of political accountability for
satisfactory performance, (2) areawide assignment of functions
and activities that are primarily redistributive or require
a high degree of technical efficiency, or would benefit from
regional economies of scale, or would necessitate a large*

geographic area for uniform or satisfactory implementation,
(3) joint or shared regional-local assignment of functions
having both areawide and local dimensions and requiring
substantial interlevel cooperation for satisfactory per-
formance, and (4) State assignment of functions and activities
that require direct Statewide administration or that are be-
yond the capacity of local or areawide units to perform.
C.   seek the assistance of affected local government rep-
resentatives, associations of local officials, and relevant
line agencies of State government in developing functional
classification standards pursuant to (B) above.
D.   prepare an intergovernmental impact statement concerning
any State or locally developed assignment or reassignment
proposal or Federal action or proposal affecting State-local
service delivery systems.   Such statement should evaluate
these assignment or reassignment proposals or actions
according to the general criteria and functional classifica-
tions developed in (A) and (B) above.
E.   recommend State constitutional, legislative, or, where
appropriate, local referendum action for the assignment of
new and the reassignment of established or expanded
functions according to the classification standards developed
in (B) above.   All such functional assignments or reassign-
ments should protect the pertinent employment and pension
rights of affected governmental employees and the relevant
financial obligations of affected jurisdictions.

This recommendation calls for a jointly developed State-
local assignment of functions policy and process.   The
Commission urges a three stage process for this policy.   In
the first step, an appropriate State-local instrumentality
such as the State ACIR proposed in Recommendation 1G of
Volume III would develop general assignment criteria pur-
suant to legislative authorization.   Such criteria would
focus on the need to consider and reconcile economic
efficiency, fiscal equity, administrative effectiveness, and

political accountability in any specific apportionment of
State, areawide, and local functional responsibilities.
After developing these basic criteria, the State ACIR or
other similar State-local instrumentality, with the assist-
ance of State line agencies, local government representatives,
and associations of local officials, would proceed to formu-
late detailed functional classifications that would be the
basis for specific service allocation proposals.

After developing these guidelines, the joint State-local
agency would implement its assignment policies in two ways.
First, it would be authorized to develop an intergovernmental
impact statement detailing the functional assignment
ramifications of any Federally, State, or locally developed
policy that affected markedly the State-local service
delivery system. Secondly the agency would be empowered to
recommend specific assignment proposals and submit them to
the appropriate decision-making body. Some proposals might
require State legislative action; others, a constitutional
amendment; while still others might be handled via local
referenda. State legislation or constitutional action would
occur when the assignment proposal involved State assumption,
State mandating, or transfer involving local and/or areawide
units on a Statewide basis, or the assignment of a new
function to such units. Local referenda might be used where
the emphasis is on revising functional assignments only
within a particular substate region.

RECOMMENDATION 2: COMPLEMENTARY FEDERAL ACTIONS

The Commission finds that the planning and districting
requirements, administrative regulations, and grant-in-aid
policies of various Federal programs have not helped States
develop a flexible yet balanced functional assignment policy.
Some Federally encouraged substate districts can serve as
implementation mechanisms while others are confined to
being planning and grant management instrumentalities. Some

districts have been encouraged to combine with generalist, locally controlled regional councils while others have remained separate, adding a confusing element to substate functional assignments. Federal aid programs often rigidify functional assignments by their funding eligibility requirements. Witness the independent institutional strength that various regional water pollution control districts have gained from receiving substantial Federal aid. Moreover, Federal legislation and regulations often promote functional assignments—through eligibility and pass-through provisions—that neither reflect existing State and local governments' responsibilities nor a well developed assignment of functions rationale. Only through selected provisions of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act and OMB Circular A-95 has the national government sought to pursue a uniform policy of disbursing technical and financial assistance to governments designated as service providers by State and general purpose local governments. The Commission believes, therefore, that the Federal government should respect the systematic functional assignment policies developed by State and local governments. In light of these findings.

The Commission recommends that State, areawide, joint (regional-local) or local providers of governmental services designated pursuant to recommendation 1, component E should be recognized as the preferred recipients of all pertinent Federal technical, planning and financial assistance by appropriate amendment of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968. The Commission further recommends that OMB modify the A-95 circular to require Federal agencies to take into account intergovernmental impact statements rendered pursuant to recommendation 1, component D in the disbursements of pertinent Federal assistance programs.

This recommendation calls for amendment of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 and OMB Circular A-95 to allow channeling of all pertinent Federal technical,

planning, and financial assistance to duly designated State,
regional, joint (regional-local), or local providers of
governmental services. This policy is analogous to the
Federal aid preference given general-purpose local govern-
ments by Section 402 of that Act. This policy would help
insure that Federal assistance programs would not conflict
or confound functional assignment decisions that have been
made systematically at the State-local level.

The Commission makes this recommendation because it
believes that the Federal government through its assistance
programs should really assist State and local jurisdictions
in carrying out their various assignment policies. The
Commission notes that numerous features of these programs—
eligibility, Federally encouraged substate districts, and
regulations requiring areawide administration of different
services to mention the more obvious—have exerted a pro-
nounced impact on existing State, regional and local service
assignments. While the national government plays a rightful
role in seeking to raise the level and quality of various
State and substate services by these policies, it should
leave to State and local governments decisions about the
actual apportionment of service responsibilities. These
questions, after all, are basically jurisdictional ones
that fall well within the purview of State and local dis-
cretion.

VITA

VITA

Woodrow Lindsay Moore, Jr. was born February 12, 1945, in Louisville, Kentucky. He received his primary education in O'Bannon, Kentucky and his secondary education in Middletown, Kentucky, where he was graduated from Eastern High School in 1963.

He received the Bachelor of Civil Engineering Degree from the University of Louisville in 1968. Upon graduation, he simultaneously enrolled in graduate school at the University to pursue the Degree of Master of Science in Civil Engineering and joined the civil engineering consulting firm of Schimpeler-Schuette Associates in Louisville as an Associate of the firm.

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He is a Registered Professional Engineer in the State of Indiana and an Associate Member of the American Institute of Planners, an Associate Member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, a Member of the American Society of Planning Officials, a Supporting Member of the Transportation Research Board, and an Associate Member of the National Society of Professional Engineers. He also belongs to Chi Epsilon and is a Member of the National Honor Societies of Phi Kappa Phi and Sigma Xi.

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